

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

April, 1944

Hamstringing Democracy

P. C. 1003—Just Another Order-in-Council

G. M. A. GRUBE



Applying Controls to Our Peacetime Economy

GARLAND MACKENZIE



Lament for the Living

100th Anniversary of The Globe

EDITORIAL



This Canadian Poetry
DOROTHY LIVESAY

Mrs. Citizen Objects
LOUISE DE KIRILINE

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O CANADA

The cemetery companies are not making a profit, Frank Higgins, K.C., Ocean View Burial Park solicitor, declared. "They stay in business because they are attached to it, just as a farmer learns to love his land," he said. (Vancouver Daily Province.)

"Just Married"—Another Woodbury Deb.—Snapshot account of the romance of adorable Eileen Thomas of Toronto and Douglas Haig of Montreal. Eileen's sparkling charm is accentuated by the glamor of her exquisite complexion—"Thanks to Woodbury's Facial Soap!" she says. Try Woodbury—the true skin soap with the costly ingredients for extra mellowness. (Advertisement in Saturday Night.)

Col. Ralston said from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000 had to be spent in each Victory Loan campaign to persuade people to buy bonds, and it seemed little enough to spend \$1,290,000, the recruiting outlay in the fiscal year 1942-43, to get some 48,000 men to volunteer to give their lives. (Canadian Press Dispatch.)

Premier A. S. MacMillan declared before the Provincial Legislature yesterday if the C.C.F. came into power in Canada the Victory Bonds "would immediately depreciate in value at least 50 per cent."

"The rush on the banks would be unparalleled, equal indeed to the bank crash in the United States a few years ago." (Halifax Herald.)

Cain probably contended that he had not been given a square deal and demanded an equal share in the "profits." He was not going to allow Abel to "rule over him," and if he could not get his "rights" by fair means, he would obtain them by force.

Cain was thus the first Socialist—and the first murderer. This was the man who first asked that question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Lewis Milligan, in The Renfrew Mercury.)

Britain is drawing no ideological line in the war. It fights beside Communist Russia, co-operates with Fascist Badoglio and backs the Leftist liberators of Jugo-Slavia on one principle—maximum power against Germany wherever it can be found. . . . There can be nothing in Mr. Churchill's speech to show any deviation by the United Nations from the high purpose for which they entered the war, and to which they have pledged themselves by solemn declaration at the Atlantic Meeting, at Washington, at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

(Winnipeg Free Press, Feb. 24, 1944.)

"The cure for the evils of monopolies and cartels is not socialism," he continued. "The cure for monopolies and cartels and all the evils they represent is a decentralization of industry to live as close to nature as possible."

(From a speech by Hon. J. G. Gardiner, quoted in the Montreal Gazette.)

Which party is more likely to secure access to the rich British market for farm products after the war—the "neutral" C.C.F., the half-way Liberals, or the total-war Progressive Conservatives, whose Ontario Leader stands shoulder to shoulder with our allies, and has contended for a policy that would maintain the Canadian Army at full strength, while at the same time making adequate provision for the farms and the factories?

(From Globe and Mail Editorial, March 7, 1944.)

Near the end of what proved an unexpectedly friendly discussion between himself and Major [Gladstone] Murray, Mr. [Leslie] Morris [Ontario Leader, Labor-Progressive Party] said: "I must say, either his sincerity is very profound, or his tactics very acute. He is not the same Mr. Murray I knew a month ago. But then, I have changed somewhat myself in the last few years."

(Report of symposium at Trinity Forum, Harbord Collegiate, Toronto, in Globe and Mail.)

For the record the result [of the Haldimand-Norfolk by-election in Ontario] "was not unexpected." Off the record it was decidedly that. If it was not unexpected that the Progressive Conservative would retain the seat, it was unexpected that the Liberals would backslide as they did. The expectation was that they would stage a comeback; that the race would at least be close, demonstrating a resurgence of Liberalism and also that the C.C.F. gains of last August were a flash in the pan, a "passing reaction."

(Ottawa staff dispatch in Globe and Mail.)

"The Minister of Munitions and Supply is above reproach," said Mr. McIvor (L., Fort William).

(CP report of House of Commons debate, Globe and Mail, March 22, 1944.)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to I. R. Causton New Westminster, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Stalin's Aim in Italy

Premier Stalin's exchange of ambassadors with the Badoglio government, while Britain and America cling to the type of communication which they initiated when they put Badoglio in office—that is, through their military heads—has raised a flurry of surprised indignation in London and Washington. It seems obvious that Stalin wishes to establish contact with the Italian people, through the only channel that exists, in a way not possible when military authorities are employed. His act is important, not so much because the form of recognition differs from that followed by his allies, as because of other things it seems to imply. It suggests strongly that he sees cause for concern about the post-war intentions of these allies, particularly with respect to the kind of governments they are going to support in Europe when the Germans are defeated. He is more interested in the Italian people than in Badoglio and the wretched king.

There is nothing necessarily sinister in this. Stalin has made it perfectly clear that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to live on friendly terms with any government founded on liberal-democratic principles (which are the principles his Anglo-American partners profess), and has no particular wish to see Europe sovietized. But he has made it equally clear that he is not going to take any chance of being surrounded by states under the control of elements openly or secretly hostile to the U.S.S.R. History can be a potent teacher; once bitten, twice shy. Continued fostering by the British and Americans of reactionary governments in exile, their grudging support of the French Committee of National Liberation and of European resistance forces in general, their clumsy intervention in the Russo-Polish negotiations, their lingering appeasement of Franco, together with their reluctance to declare plainly their post-war aims—all this has scarcely tended to promote confidence. Persistence in these policies, despite the supposed accord achieved at Teheran, may well have revived a canniness for which Stalin can scarcely be blamed.

Are the democracies really prepared to make themselves deserving of trust? That is the great question. Until we give convincing proof that it is fascism, and not merely German military power, that we are out to crush, there seems little hope for that harmony without which a third world war is inevitable.

Battle for the Future

At a dinner in honor of twenty-five years' association with the magazine, Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, made a notable speech, in which she assayed those forces in Britain and America which are working to preserve the Old Order. "Power in our own government," she declared, "is still largely in the hands of men who hate fascism less than they fear social change." There were encouraging signs. "The democratic forces of Europe and Asia are fully awake to the needs and dangers of this time. . . . Russia is not going to encourage the re-establishment of the Europe of 1939 and, with all the dangers inherent in any form of power politics, one must count this as gain. . . . The forces [in America] that resist social change have gained much territory and dug themselves in strongly during the war. But in a democracy such tendencies set in motion counter currents." Yet the fight to stem reaction would be a stiff one, and to its prosecution Miss Kirchwey pledged the full sup-

port of *The Nation*. Her speech was a ringing summons to action. "Ordinary people everywhere are sick to death of the scramble for power of privileged groups . . . It is our task—our only important task on this earth—to help create a world fit, not for heroes, but for ordinary men and women."

In Canada, the fight is well under way; and *The Canadian Forum* is proud to associate itself with *The Nation* in pledging to the battle all the resources at its command. In commenting on Miss Kirchwey's fine address, *The New Republic* said: "We don't believe that progressivism in the country as a whole is in a defeatist mood. In some other parts of the world, it is doing very well, thank you—in Canada, for instance, where the CCF expects soon to be the second party in power." It is interesting to hear that formation of a party similar to the CCF is being considered south of the border.

Incidentally, we should like to congratulate *The Nation* upon acquiring as its managing editor Mr. King Gordon. Mr. Gordon, a native of Western Canada and son of the late "Ralph Connor," the Canadian novelist, was closely associated in their formative years with both the League for Social Reconstruction and the CCF, and was one of the authors of the book "Social Planning for Canada." He was for a time on the editorial board of *The Canadian Forum*, and has since been an occasional contributor. He goes to *The Nation* from the New York publishing house of Farrar & Rinehart. If Canada must lose the services of one of her ablest sons, there is compensation in knowing it is *The Nation* that is to be the gainer.

Post-War Aviation Policy

Presumptive testimony on behalf of the government's post-war civil aviation policy is found in the disapproval of such papers as the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Tely*. It envisages a single government-owned, non-profit trans-Canada air line, all air services divorced from surface transport, and a regulatory and advisory Air Transport Board. New franchises for feeder lines will be reserved for returned airmen. Objection of the above organs of "free enterprise" to this last point is a particularly amusing revelation that their real sympathies lie, not with free enterprise at all, but with big business like the CPR, regarding which Mr. Howe said: "The newly-formed Canadian Pacific Air Lines lost no time in challenging the non-competitive position of Trans-Canada Air Lines, and in reaching out for new franchises; this at a time when it alone seemed to be able to buy new and modern equipment." The paramount consideration, he said, must be service to the public, and "it seemed obvious that the cost of a non-competitive, non-profit service was the lowest that could be offered to the public." Remembering his previous statements in favor of private enterprise, the job of making this government announcement must have been a painful one for Hon. Clarence Decatur Howe. For our part, we would have been inclined to consolidate all air services in one government-owned system, to operate at "the lowest cost that could be offered the public."

The proposal of an international governing body with licensing powers, and mutual agreements regarding landing and carrying rights, seems a sensible one, though its favorable reception in some quarters seems doubtful. At least, Canada is the first of the smaller nations to enunciate a policy, even if its disclosure was precipitated by a "leak."

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Work for the Radio Committee

The storm that has been brewing as a result of the government's failure to houseclean the CBC broke loose on the motion to appoint a 1944 radio committee. Denied discussion of the 1943 committee's report, brought down late in the last session, opposition parties demanded a field day. Mr. King tried to stave it off, but the Speaker ruled against him, and the ensuing debate filled 37 pages of Hansard. The Minister of National War Services sought to sidetrack charges of interference in the "Things to Come" broadcasts by sneering remarks about the war service and "National Socialism" of CCF members, so blatant that they brought sharp rebukes from the *Winnipeg Free Press* and *Saturday Night*. The former termed the Minister's defense "no defense at all, but a tirade discreditable to its author and an insult to the Canadian Parliament." The latter suggested that "the Speaker should add the term 'National Socialist' to the list of epithets which may not be employed by members." Pathetic grousing by Progressive Conservative and Social Credit members over the "undue publicity" given the CCF by the CBC's news service (the one department least open to criticism by fair-minded persons) provided an amusing interlude.

One specially alarming fact emerged—the evident progress being made by private radio interests in their propaganda and lobby for a three-man board to rule over both the CBC and private stations. A disconcerting number of members expressed agreement with this outrageous proposal. Since then, the committee has heard Minister LaFleche and CBC Chairman Morin propose a division of administrative duties between the general manager and a salaried chairman, when the real need, of course, is for a strong board of governors, with or without a salaried chairman, which will devote itself to broad policy-making, leaving administration as heretofore to the general manager. It will be interesting to see how the committee handles these and other questions of vital importance to the future of broadcasting in Canada.

Bits and Pieces

The government's policy in the field of labor relations continues to be a bits-and-pieces policy. Order in council 1003 is discussed elsewhere in this issue; it is now in effect. Meanwhile, P.C. 9384, the last wage freezing order issued in December, has been amended in various ways. The original order was to freeze all wages, however low, harder than ever; the amendments at least consider the possibility of a very slight thaw in places, so that we are much where we were before.

Specifically, the amendments are: (i) it is no longer essential to prove that an increase in wages can be absorbed by the employer before it can be obtained: it was obviously all but impossible for a union to obtain the information to prove any such thing; (ii) instead of general revisionary powers, it now seems that the National War Labor Board will wait until application is made to it; (iii) the section that gave the boards the power to reduce wages has been eliminated; (iv) the membership of the National War Labor Board remains as before instead of being increased to eight; (v) the onus of proof that they have complied with an order of the board is no longer upon those accused of an offence under it; and (vi) the penalties in connection with "illegal" strikes are substantially reduced.

These amendments were made to meet protests from organized labor. Perhaps we can now look forward to the amending of P.C. 1003 as well. But the whole policy of a succession of piecemeal orders-in-council and amendments to them is as bewildering as it is unsatisfactory. There is

no attempt to review the whole field in order to remove injustices and establish economic freedom. Even these amendments were made very grudgingly, and accompanied by dark warnings of what would have to be done if the price-ceiling were pierced. It is high time parliament reviewed the whole subject and had comprehensive legislation presented to it.

Health Insurance Points

The government's National Health Insurance Plan is a proposal for the financing, with federal assistance, of over-all medical, hospital, surgical, nursing and dental services for every citizen in a province on an estimated basis of costs. Before being enacted into law, the draft bill would be considered by all the provinces, and then might become operative by consent in one or more of them.

The amount of service to be rendered, and how the costs are calculated, seem to be in doubt. But there are some aspects of any really comprehensive scheme that need stressing. One is that the notorious insufficiency of doctors, dentists, nurses and hospitals in all provinces must be remedied before any comprehensive health service can be provided. Large sums must be spent on educational facilities, on buildings and on equipment, apart from the financing of the services themselves. Another question is whether systems of therapy which have been found meritorious by many people, and have even received limited recognition from medical men, but to which the medical profession remains officially antagonistic, are to have a place in treatment, and how far a medical profession which has proved so excessively conservative and so generally hostile to the very principle of non-private practice should be entrusted with authority in the framing and operation of a general health plan. Finally, there is the matter of proprietary medicines. Adequate preventive and curative services available to all would probably lessen the demand for these; but as long as self-medication remains permissible, the present practically unrestricted sale of patent nostrums of a worthless or even injurious nature might seriously hamper the effectiveness of a general health law.

Puck Was Right

"Lord, what fools these mortals be," cried Puck—not without reason. What war can do to mortals, even in those citadels of supposedly free speech, our universities, is illustrated by the punishment meted out to the University of Manitoba student who presumed to publish in a campus paper verses reflecting a slightly more complex reaction to the war than that embodied in the slogan "Unconditional Surrender." He had the perversity to suggest it might be a good thing if some of the war's tortures could be inflicted on those at home whose stupidities had caused the war. These are sentiments which must have been felt by many a fighting man, especially, as the young poet confessed was the case with him, "in a brief period of mental stress." The university authorities, egged on by that great liberal organ, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, ruled that the young man might finish his course, but his degree would be withheld until he received an honorable discharge "from the armed service of his choice." Since he is already training as a naval cadet, and is no pacifist, and since his arts degree would be of no use to him until after the war (presuming he returns), this seems mild punishment. However, faces were saved, and the university governors will not have to drink the hemlock as corrupters of youth. But what a travesty of the democratic ideals of freedom for which we are supposed to be fighting!

Lament for the Living

► WE HAD BEEN waiting for it for months. The *Toronto Globe* began publication in March, 1844, and as the date of its centenary approached we were eagerly looking forward to what would happen when George McCullagh should make the awful discovery that he was the heir of George Brown. But nothing much happened at all, and we might have known that was how it would be. The publisher of the *Globe and Mail* dedicated himself in the best Rotarian rhetoric to the maintenance of the ideals of the founder of his paper, but no one around the Wright Building took the trouble to tell him what those ideals were. Probably none of them know. The present *Globe* might as well have been dedicating himself to the ideals of the Leadership League or some other creature of his own strange imagination. The McCullagh *Globe and Mail* is an institution without a past—and consequently also without a future.

If Mr. McCullagh's paper has any sense of the past in its consciousness, the connection is rather with the other side of the family, with the *Mail* of the 1870's rather than with George Brown's *Globe*. The *Mail* was founded as the organ of the gentlemen's party, to recover the ground that had been lost during the years when the only expression of Conservatism in Toronto was in the rowdy Tory Democracy of the *Leader*; and like so many of the gentlemen of Toronto before and since, it felt itself free to indulge continuously in vituperation and innuendo about the honesty and patriotism of everyone whom it didn't like. According to the famous story of the day, its editor conceived his function to be that of stabbing the Grits under the fifth rib every morning.

It was just about this time too, in the 1870's, that John Morley, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was approached by a young man seeking an editorial position on the *Pall Mall*. When Morley questioned him about his knowledge of affairs, it became clear that he professed no special acquaintance with the Irish Question, the Eastern Question, the Labor Question, or any of the other issues which were agitating English opinion at that time. What then, asked Morley, was his special field? His specialty, replied the young man, was general invective. We should judge that the editorial staff of the contemporary *Globe and Mail* must be entirely composed of young men who profess the same specialty.

But George Brown's *Globe*, though its young men certainly never failed in their command of general invective, was something quite different. It had a coherent, consistent political philosophy. It fervently believed in the democratic movement which was sweeping North America in that generation. It championed an equalitarian society, free from political, educational, religious and social privilege. Like Lincoln, George Brown had a firm faith in the capacities of the common people, and he loved Upper Canada because it was so full of them. The *Globe's* appeal was always to "the intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada." Especially did it fight for the interests of the agrarian frontier settlers of its constituency against the big business of Montreal. "Rep by Pop," which became in the 1850's and 1860's its great doctrine, meant that the rapidly growing population of western Ontario would oust the combined forces of Montreal business and the French Catholic Church from the seats of political power.

Listen to this editorial from the *Globe* of August 10, 1867, written in the midst of the first general election campaign in the new Dominion of Canada, which had just come into

existence on July 1: "With the Grand Trunk and the Bank of Montreal at his back, there is no saying how far the reckless financier of the present government (John A. Macdonald's government) may carry his schemes. These institutions are the enemies of the people and of popular rights. They have special interests to advance in Parliament. It is time that Upper Canadians were united together in resisting these monopolies and the government which has created and supported them. It is time that we had a government above being the servant of railway or banking institutions. It is time that we had a government which would consider the interest of the whole people and not of a few wily money-makers who can bring influence to bear upon Parliament." And compare that with the propaganda of the Forest Hill-Kirkland Lake Axis which fills the pages of the *Globe* today.

There is another significant feature of the original *Globe* which makes it like a voice from another world when it is read in conjunction with its modern successor. George Brown was not a man of much formal education, but he was a Scot who had grown up in the stimulating atmosphere of the crisis that led to the Great Disruption in the Presbyterian Church and whose youth had been passed in the midst of the campaigns for parliamentary reform and free trade in Britain. He was familiar with and vitally interested in the great intellectual movements of his time. And through his paper he tried to interpret those movements to the intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada. Read the special news letters which his *Globe* received regularly from Britain, and compare the analysis which they gave of English society in transition from Whiggism and Toryism to Liberalism and Conservatism, or of Napoleonic French society drifting towards the catastrophe of 1870, with the sort of fare that is served up to us any morning now as news from Britain and France. Read the long extracts in Brown's *Globe* from the *Times*, the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Economist*, *Blackwood's*, the *Cornhill*, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, on every kind of topic from the doctrines of the Manchester School to Darwinism, Marxism and the High Church movement, and you realize how far the intellectual standards of the Toronto newspaper world have fallen since those days.

For the fault is probably ultimately with Toronto rather than with Mr. McCullagh. Another publisher, it is true, when once he had obtained the news services of the *New York Times*, would make proper use of them, as does the publisher of the *Montreal Gazette*. But there is something in the Toronto atmosphere, as any non-Torontonian will tell you, which inhibits intellectual activity. No other city except Toronto has any chance of becoming the intellectual capital of Canada; but it reduces one to tears to contemplate the way in which Toronto persistently muffs its opportunity. When George Brown founded the *Globe* a hundred years ago Toronto was still young and hopeful, and Brown dreamt of his chosen community as the future leader in everything that was finest in Canadian life. But look at us now! Any morning the *Globe and Mail*, with its financial resources, might start out to make itself the *New York Times* of Canada. It might aim even higher and aspire to become the *Manchester Guardian* of Canada. But it won't make the attempt. You couldn't make any of its staff understand what you were talking about if you suggested such ambitions to them.

The *New York Times* motto of "All the News That's Fit to Print" dates from a day when the *Times* was younger, lustier, more journalistically irreverent than it has become in its present phase of Sulzberger respectability. But why must we in Canada eternally repeat that ours is too immature a community for any Canadian publisher to dream of measuring his paper by the standards achieved in the *Times*?

The best newspaper motto of which we know is that of the Scripps-Howard papers. It has a print of a lighthouse throwing out beams of light in all directions, and beneath this are the words: "Give Light, and the People Will Find Their Own Way." The trouble with our Toronto *Globe and Mail* is that its present management is incapable of giving light and is unwilling to trust the people to find their own way.

Quebec Chooses Sides

► AS USUAL in Canada's political turning-points, Quebec's choice will vitally affect our future development. If Quebec stays Liberal, the present Government will have another chance. There are signs that the anti-Government feeling may express itself less against Mr. King, whose subservience to London and Washington may be understood, than against Mr. Godbout, whose subservience to Ottawa is not so easily forgiven. If Quebec swings to the Bloc, we are all in for a merry battle of groups which will temporarily turn our attention from the realities of economics to the myths of race. If Quebec votes Duplessis and Union Nationale, then Mr. Bracken may step into Mr. King's shoes as a leader who tries to make his party a loose alliance of dominant English-French groups held together by political necessity rather than political philosophy. And if Quebec turns to the CCF, then the great national adventure is on.

At the moment all indications are that Duplessis is the rising power. The Bloc is essentially a middle-class party, with no roots among farmers or workers, and internally torn by dissension. Mr. Godbout, by all accounts, is on the way out. Rumors are that the St. James Street capitalists realize this and that their money is going to Duplessis as the least dangerous alternative. The man who violently opposed the war in the 1939 elections (with Communist backing) will receive the support of big business without question today if he appears to be a safeguard against a rising trend toward expropriation. Godbout has laid his fingers—or at least his little finger—on Montreal Power, whereas Duplessis, for all his brave talk in 1936, was a wet squib as a trust-buster.

Significant was Mr. Bracken's visit to Quebec City on February 28. He said that Quebec, "with its strong religious and family traditions, its attachment to the soil and its sense of justice, constitutes one of the most substantial obstacles to the prevalent danger of a socialistic ideology." So the French-Canadian is being asked by the party of big business to fight for his own continued exploitation! We all knew it would come to this, but here it is. Will Quebec accept the invitation to defend its own economic slavery? Not for long, that is sure. Mr. Bracken tried to allay rumors that he had made an alliance with Duplessis, yet he made the statement, astonishing for a national leader, that he was "interested only in federal affairs and will never interfere in provincial politics." Meeting with men who were closely connected with the Union Nationale, he did not convince the public of his detachment. We may expect a working alliance of Bracken-Duplessis, for otherwise the Progressive-Conservatives are, nationally, a nonentity.

Meanwhile it is the working class in Quebec that needs watching. They are not falling for Duplessis or the Bloc. Just where they will immediately go is not certain, but their increasing unionization, principally by the Canadian Congress of Labor, and their increasing recognition of the anti-labor policy of Quebec which both Duplessis and Godbout support, is preparing their minds for the CCF doctrine. Never has the CCF had such a response to its meetings.

Organization is progressing rapidly. The next provincial election will come too soon for a miracle to happen, but the long term trend is visible. Not a blind defense of Tory interests and the Trusts, dressed up as religious and family tradition, but a sincere co-operation with left-wing forces in other parts of the country will alone free Quebec for its next stage of development. The CCF has evolved the only kind of program which is sufficiently realist in its economic radicalism, and sufficiently imbued with Canadian political and religious traditions, to carry the country through the pending historic changes in a democratic way. This truth is steadily gaining acceptance in Quebec.

P.C. 1003—Just Another Order-in-Council

G. M. A. Grube

► ORDER-IN-COUNCIL P.C. 1003, Wartime Labor Relations Regulations, issued on February 17, was heralded as the solution of our labor troubles. Commentators have assured us that collective bargaining is at last established in Canada.

A careful study of this lengthy document's twelve pages of small print, however, leaves one in a state of mixed bewilderment, indignation and sardonic amusement. The only contribution which it makes, in fact, is the establishment of another national board, the War Labor Relations Board, parallel to the National War Labor Board. In time this, too, may have provincial offspring, and we shall have a complete set of duplicates, the first to look after wages, the second to look after collective bargaining and other things.

How such duplication is going to simplify labor relations it is difficult to see. It is of course true that a board could use this order to enforce collective bargaining, but so could other orders have been used. They were not. It is very doubtful that this one will be. In itself it contributes no solution. While on the surface it seems to do certain things it is full of verbal tricks with a dubious air. This subtlety, which appears to say what it does not, is no credit to the government, and is in sad contrast to the trustful attitude of the first comments from some prominent trade union leaders who, in their straightforward way, are still willing to give the government the credit of meaning what it only appears to say. Perhaps one should give even the Minister of Labor the benefit of the doubt; but how often and how long?

The first thing that is wrong with the order-in-council is that it is still an order-in-council. Not since the beginning of the war have labor relations been the subject of legislation in parliament. For this there is neither reason nor excuse. Further, as these regulations are specifically issued "under the authority of the War Measures Act," they will automatically disappear with the war emergency, and we shall have no regulations to govern labor relations, even in those industries which will remain under the jurisdiction of the Dominion, except the old Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, today quite inadequate.

Surely the time has come when we should have a permanent body of labor laws and regulations, both federally and provincially. The constitutional chaos that will follow when the War Measures Act becomes inoperative is becoming obvious to all of us. The chaos will be no less in the field of

labor than elsewhere; but in this field at least we could with relatively little difficulty establish legislation and regulations to prevent disaster. Or is the government's intention in serving notice on our industrial Bourbons that though they may have to show some slight respect for the rights of man in wartime, once peace is declared they can once again battle trade unions without interference? If so, here is another reason to change the government, and soon.

There is a kind of titanic naivete in the wording of the preamble to P.C. 1003 where it says that "it is therefore deemed necessary, by reason of the war, for the security, defense, peace, order and welfare of Canada and for the efficient prosecution of the war, that regulations be made in respect of these matters." It is indeed necessary, and has been for some time. And is it only "by reason of the war"?

The main question with which this order purports to deal is that of collective bargaining. It was recognized as far back as June, 1940, in P.C. 2685, that employees "should" be free to organize and to negotiate. This is again recognized in the preamble. Machinery is set up by which a trade union can, if it is lucky, be recognized as a bargaining agency. What happens then?

"Where bargaining representatives have been certified under section eight, the bargaining representatives or the employees' employer may, in accordance with the procedure hereinafter set out, enter into negotiations with a view to the completion of a collective agreement." (Section 4, Subs. 3.)

In other words, after the union has successfully been certified by the War Labor Relations Board as a bargaining agency to represent the workers in negotiations, the employer may negotiate — if he wants to!

That is the determining clause put, with grim humor, under the title "Rights of Employees and Employers." True, Section 10 seems at first more helpful when it says:

"The parties shall negotiate in good faith with one another and make every reasonable effort to conclude a collective agreement." (Section 10, Subs. 2.)

I have no doubt that this clause was responsible for favorable comments from labor quarters. It follows a previous section to the effect that each party may approach the other on ten days' notice with a request to negotiate. At first blush, the sentence just quoted seems to settle the point, leading us to infer that the employer must negotiate. That is a mirage. It only says they must negotiate in good faith; and this may well mean that, *if they do negotiate*, it must be in good faith. A vital link is omitted. In view of Section 4 (3), quoted above, the omission seems deliberate, and this impression is confirmed by the section on the renewal of agreement, where it is clearly stated that negotiations must take place (16):

"Either party to a collective agreement may, on ten clear days' notice, require the other party to enter into negotiations for the renewal of the agreement within a period of two months prior to the expiry date, and both parties *shall thereupon enter into such negotiations in good faith and make every reasonable effort to secure such a renewal.*"

This may look unintentional; but it can hardly be so, for the result is very clear. In a case of renewal of an agreement the employer concerned has treated with the union before. It is safe for the government to say he must do so again. But when dealing with the tough guys who absolutely refuse to recognize a union, the mandatory words are left out. I do not deny that the Board, if it wished, could interpret this satisfactorily—or, for that matter, the government could amend this order. But one can see at once what use a clever lawyer will make of this chink in the armor. These things, as I have often noticed before, are not accidental.

The phrase "trade union or employees' organization" is used throughout and "employees' organization" means, of course, a company union. There are, it is true, cases where employees' organizations may exist which are not controlled or dominated by the employers, but they are very few. It is now a recognized technique on the part of anti-union employers to organize an "employees' organization" as soon as a union shows any sign of organizing the plant, and then to attempt to have this organization recognized as the bargaining agency by trying to get the men, by fair means or foul, to join this organization. This game was often played before conciliation boards, and came to full and happy fruition before the Ontario Labor Court, now about to go. As a matter of fact, the phrase "employees' organization" was not used in the earliest orders, such as 2685. It has come into use as the technique developed.

In view of these developments, it is absolutely necessary that any sound regulations shall explicitly make it impossible for an employer-dominated company union to be recognized as a bargaining agency. But there is nothing in this order to that effect. True, there is something which, at first sight, looks like it, for we find under "Unfair Practices" (19, Subs. 1):

"No employer shall dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of a trade union or employees' organization or contribute financial or other support to it."

No specific penalty is imposed, beyond the general one of \$100 on an individual or \$500 on an organization that "contravenes any of the provisions of these regulations" (Section 42); but of course neither \$100 nor \$500, nor even a combination of both, will be a strong deterrent. In any case, there is nothing to prevent the recognition of the company union as the bargaining agency, even if the employer is fined. Besides, there are many ways of doing the company union's job. Furthermore, the same Section 19, in the very same sentence, continues:

"... but an employer may, notwithstanding the foregoing, permit an employee or a representative of a trade union or an employees' organization to confer with him during working hours or to attend to the business of the organization or union during working hours without deduction of time so occupied in the computation of the time worked for the employer and without deduction of wages with respect thereof."

Thus, our anti-union employer can absolutely forbid any union organization in the plant, while he encourages the company union to do all its organizing in working hours; for note Section 20 (2), which forbids any union or employees' organization or their representative even to "persuade an employee to join" at the place of employment during his working hours, "except with the consent of the employer."

Thus, while all pressure of persuasion is put on, with his consent, to join the company union, if any employee, even in reply, tries to "persuade" anyone to join the union instead, he is presumably guilty of contravening these regulations, may be fined \$100, and if he is fired redress seems very unlikely. What a sweet set-up for the encouragement and protection of company unions! Who said the government isn't learning anything in labor relations? On the contrary, it is learning one thing very fast: how to keep up with the latest developments in anti-union techniques.

The above jokers are rather subtle. Here is a perfectly shameless piece of skulduggery, and it is a repeat performance. We remember that in P.C. 7307 of September, 1941, a strike vote, to be effective, required a majority, not indeed of the votes cast, but of the potential voters (these to include all those affected by the dispute, as determined by the Minister). I commented on this strange perversion of democracy

at the time — in *The Canadian Forum* of November, 1941 — and quoted then the comment made by Mr. M. J. Coldwell, which is worth repeating. He said:

"Let me apply a similar test to the Liberal party. In the last election 66% of those entitled to vote, voted. The Liberal government received 54% of the votes cast. That is to say, they received 34% of the votes of those entitled to vote. Therefore, under their own order-in-council, if applied to themselves, they could not govern this country."

In spite of the storm of protest which P.C. 7307 evoked from all organized labor, exactly the same provisions are supplied in the new order, not only to strike votes, but also to the election of bargaining representatives (Section 5, Sub-section 1): "The employees of any employer may elect bargaining representatives by a majority vote of the employees affected."

The expression is repeated in Subsections 2 and 3 and again in Section 7. Thus is democracy hamstrung in the industrial field. Of course, it won't work in practice. Nor is the Board, it would seem, given discretionary powers in this respect, for it must satisfy itself (7): "that an election or appointment of bargaining representatives was regularly and properly made, and in the case of a trade union, that the trade union acted with the authority of the majority of the employees affected." Is the same requirement, by any chance, not to apply to company unions?

These, then, seem the major defects of the new order: it is purely temporary for the duration of the war; it does not secure to the worker the right to bargain collectively, as the anti-union employer does not have to negotiate; it gives protection to the company unions; and it nullifies the ordinary practices of democracy by insisting on a majority, not of the votes cast, but of the potential vote.

There are other weaknesses, which can only be briefly mentioned. The complete separation between the boards dealing with wages and the new board means that if an adjustment of wages is collectively agreed upon it then has to go before the war labor boards, involving a further procedure of application and argumentation.

Further, the whole process is very involved, dilatory and cumbersome. First comes the application certification as bargaining agency, then application for negotiations. If agreed to, negotiations begin, and if after thirty days there is no prospect of agreement, the Board is asked to intervene. At this point all the old delaying machinery is set in motion: the only intervention from the Board is to refer the matter to the Minister, who then appoints a conciliation officer who also reports and may recommend the appointment of a conciliation board which, if it fails (and it is difficult to see how they could succeed by this time), makes a report in turn. And then there may be a strike. All the old machinery is retained, and the new stages just tacked on as a preliminary. The main intention still is to delay strikes, rather than to settle the questions at issue. And note that nothing is said as to what happens if an employer refuses to negotiate in the first instance, although this has been the main question at issue in nearly all recent labor disputes of importance.

Nor is there anything anywhere to secure the reinstatement of an employee wrongfully dismissed or victimized. The employer may be fined, but what happens to the victim?

The sections on enforcement have an appearance of fairness, in that lockouts and strikes are punished equally. But lockouts are rare; grievances lead to strikes, and only vindictiveness leads to lockouts; and in any case "nothing in these regulations shall be interpreted to prohibit the suspension or discontinuance of an industry or of the working of any persons therein for a cause not constituting a lockout or

strike." There are many reasons that can be found for calling a lockout by any other name.

However, dire penalties have been threatened in previous orders-in-council and have made little difference. In this order there is at least the guarantee that no prosecution can take place without the consent of the Board, which may do something to prevent foolish threats at a delicate moment in negotiations.

All in all, we are still in the same atmosphere of distrust and chicanery as we found ourselves in under previous orders-in-council. And that is not surprising, since we still have the same government and, in particular, the same blundering Minister of Labor. To borrow a phrase Arthur Williams, M.P.P., used in the Ontario house: "The leopard has added a little spot here and a little spot there, but it's the same old leopard."

The Coming Struggle For Air Control

D. M. LeBourdais

▶ WHEN INTERNATIONAL commercial co-operation, almost entirely suspended for the present, is resumed after the war, one field wherein intense rivalry will be the rule is undoubtedly that of aviation. Canada, at one of the great aerial cross-roads of the world, will certainly be in the thick of it. And it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the precipitating cause of another great war will result from that rivalry. Consequently anything that can be done—while the nations concerned are still engaged in a common enterprise—to avert the danger of further friction is very much to be desired. Unfortunately the respective attitudes of authorities in Great Britain and the United States indicate a tendency toward divergence rather than co-operation. What the U.S.S.R., the other member of the great triumvirate, may be thinking no one can say; but there is little doubt that the Soviets will play an important part in post-war civil aviation.

If this were the sort of world it obviously is not, the nations, realizing that the air, hitherto looked upon as the epitome of freedom, is the common heritage of all, would so arrange matters that all might have equal rights in the air; and this, of course, could only be managed under the authority of some over-riding international agency.

Before the war, the "sovereignty of the air" principle was generally recognized, the basis of which is that the air, extending upward to infinity, is the property of the particular country that lies beneath it. Opposed to this is the "freedom of the air" principle that is at present being officially advocated in the United States—which does not necessarily mean freedom of trade in air traffic. The latter, the Americans contend, is an entirely different matter. As one of their spokesmen puts it, "Our problem is therefore not to restore the *status quo*, but to break it."

Air authorities in Washington would like to see the right of transit for planes of any country over the territory of any other country established by international agreement. Planes would be free to use airports for emergency purposes and for re-fueling, but they would not be allowed to pick up or deposit traffic of any kind. The latter privilege, according to the American view, would be dependent on arrangements made between the two countries concerned. For example, a United States plane, flying to Europe or Asia across Canadian territory, would be free by international agreement to use Canadian airports but would not be allowed to carry passengers, mail or freight, say, from Chicago to Winnipeg,

or from Winnipeg to London, unless a special agreement had been entered into between the United States and Canada covering such traffic.

This would, of course, give the United States an immense advantage. It would be of little value to Canadian aviation lines to be able to fly over United States territory, except insofar as Central and South American traffic is concerned. What Canadians are interested in is the right to carry traffic between Winnipeg and Chicago, or from Chicago to London; and this Americans may not be willing to concede—if "freedom of the air" had already been established.

Great Britain's position is similar, except that the bargaining power inherent in traffic originating in that country is much greater than in that of Canada. Consequently it is possible that Great Britain and the United States might come to an agreement under which they would allow each other's planes to carry traffic to and from both countries—across Canada—without Canadian aviation lines being able to participate in any of the traffic either way.

This being the case, it is likely that the Canadian Government will resist any effort to deal with the question on multi-lateral lines without, at the same time, seeing that some provision is made for the sharing of local traffic.

Another question upon which a difference of opinion now exists as between the United States, on the one hand, and Canada and Great Britain, on the other, is whether international civil aviation is to be handled by agencies under government control or by privately-owned and operated corporations. Great Britain now operates through British Overseas Airways Corporation; Canada has retained the right to trans-Atlantic traffic exclusively for Trans-Canada Air Lines, which is government-owned; while the principal American aviation company in the international field is the powerful Pan American Airways, a privately-owned company. When the time comes, Soviet airliners will doubtless also be government-controlled; and this will render the situation even more interesting.

Coming down from the stratosphere of international aviation to domestic flying, another line of cleavage is seen in Canada. Trans-Canada Air Lines has been given a monopoly of transcontinental traffic, but quite recently the Canadian Pacific Railway has acquired a number of bush airlines which at present act as north-and-south feeders for T.C.A., but which might easily be linked to constitute a second trans-continental service. That the C.P.R. will long remain content with a secondary place in any phase of transportation is not likely in view of its past history; and a demand on its part for equality with the T.C.A. can be expected. This is particularly true with respect to international traffic, especially by way of northern routes.

The Canadian Government's policy on civil air transport was outlined in a statement made to the House of Commons last session by the Prime Minister; and in the meantime, it is reported, the government has prepared a comprehensive draft plan for the setting up of an international authority for the control of commerce by air across international boundaries.¹ That such a scheme would be acceptable to the United States seems unlikely in view of its present policy and the general insistence of its spokesmen that civil aviation shall continue to be a perquisite of private enterprise. Canada, nevertheless, is in a strong bargaining position. United States planes cannot fly the shortest routes to Europe or Asia without passing over Canadian territory, although

the argument is used that it is not essential for them to do so since other satisfactory, if somewhat longer, routes are available. And it is possible that, rather than share their traffic, they may make shift to establish other routes. The possibility also exists that their terms might preclude arrangements which Canada might wish to make with Great Britain or other countries. Whether an equitable arrangement can be made now to apply after the war between allies so closely co-operating in wartime is a test of the sincerity of some of the professions of friendship of which so much is heard these days.

Mrs. Citizen Objects

Louise De Kiriline

► THE POINT having been reached where a radical change of our present health services is being fully recognized, great solicitude is felt as to how it will affect the medical profession. The doctors are down flatfooted on their rights of free enterprise—no interference with individual freedom; heaven forbid—ethics and what not! They admit only with reluctance that everything is not as it should be and that something probably ought to be done. Innumerable health schemes are being worked out with at least partial reorganization of their old professional formulae and presented to them for their benign consideration. With befitting deference the august co-operation of the doctors is solicited by the laymen, but their cries fall on deafened ears.

The doctors object. In fact they do little else but object. They don't want to be interfered with. They want to judge their own services and collect their own fees. They want to cure. They cure for money. They want to give up not one ounce of their professional untouchability nor their rights to crowd into the richer communities. With touching selflessness, they want to preserve their patients' "sacred" right of choosing their own doctor. And above all, they don't want to become civil servants. This, according to them, would not only demean them but submit them to being "ruled by politicians." But nobody thinks very much of Mr. and Mrs. Citizen and their objections.

I propose, therefore, as a Mrs. Citizen, to review a few of our objections, not against a new system but against the old one, and to put our foot down for a change. After all, where would the doctors be without us? We have died before for lesser rights than those the doctors seem set on refusing us now.

So, first, we will put our foot down squarely on the main point. What we want is not health insurance. We want health assurance. The right to treatment after the disease is contracted, which is what health insurance gives us, is merely a peace-offering, a pacifier for the baby's mouth. We want to prevent disease, if possible. We want to know how to prevent it. We want the doctors to prevent it. We want to keep well, not to become sick and then be cured—perhaps. At present the high cost of keeping well is only outvalued by the high cost of dying.

We want health to be put on exactly the same basis as literacy. To be unhealthy should be considered no less deplorable than to be illiterate, for the community as well as for the individual. The crosses with which the unhealthy sign are far too conclusive.

We cannot recognize any organization of medical services which does not accord us equal rights to service. We cannot accept any system by which some are to pay and to some it is handed out as a dole. That is good neither for those

¹Since this article was written, Hon. C. D. Howe has announced in the House of Commons the Government's proposals regarding post-war aviation. These are discussed in our editorial section. *Canada's Air Future*, a 36-page pamphlet just issued by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, price 10c, deals interestingly with the subject.—Ed.

who pay, nor for those who do not, and least of all for those in between. We pay for our schools. In the same way we can pay for our basic health. That is a way of paying which is oppressive to no one and impossible to no one.

What we want first of all is basic health. There should be not one school even in the remotest corner of the country which is not visited by doctor or nurse regularly at least twice a year. At present a nurse comes into a rural school and she often finds not one child free of defect. That she finds not one child without defect is distressing proof, not only of the individual's lamentable ignorance of what is basic health, but also of the absolute inability of the medical profession to provide it to anybody under the present system.

We emphatically object to paying for health insurance which only partly corrects defects, refusing planned effort to prevent them before they exist. Basic health does not begin at school, nor at birth, but before birth. Basic health means pre-natal care, post-natal care, pre-school observation, vaccination, inoculations, and regular health examinations of all. There is no logic in giving this only to those who can pay for it and not to those who can't, to those who live in the rich communities and not to those who don't. The rich boy rides in a streetcar on which a poor boy sneezes. The rich boy goes back home and the next day may come down with pneumonia.

Basic health means records from the pre-natal stage till death. These cannot be interchangeable with a freedom of choosing one's own doctor which actually is our only protection against poor doctoring. No doctor can be expected to put his skill to best use without records—not the desultory ones he elicits from the patient himself, but the scientifically obtained and objectively observed data which encompass heritage, environment and so forth in sickness and in health, and are kept up-to-date. Therefore, the thing of real importance is to have records. The next is to have a doctor accessible who can read them. Then this doctor must have within reach diagnostic laboratoria, X-ray and so forth, as well as consultant experts to whom to pass on the patient if need be. In fact, the right to choose one's own physician is a negative luxury at best, and more often a two-edged sword. We object to emphasis being put on this dubious freedom; but at any rate we want our basic health safeguarded by properly conducted records which follow us from health centre to health centre wherever we may chance to have our home. We want doctors within reach who with the help of these records can easily step into the worn-out shoes of the family doctor and do a better job.

To assure basic health there is still another pseudo-freedom we do not want. We object to anybody being free to accept or not to accept safe vaccination and inoculations or any other recognized method to prevent the spreading of preventable diseases. Is there anybody who would deem it right to permit cars running on the sidewalk so as not to inhibit the freedom of the driver? Or the bad boy to take potshots at the street-light for the sake of self-expression? Or, for that matter, the criminal to walk about freely until the next opportunity to do a dastardly deed? What difference is there actually between the parent who will not permit his child to be inoculated against diphtheria, or the community whose water supply is left contaminated, or the sick person who refuses to isolate himself while in a contagious stage, and the criminal? Whose freedom is at stake, the prejudiced parent's or the child's who goes to the show and gasps for breath the next day with his throat blocked by diphtheria?

Compulsory imposition of proved preventive methods against disease, then, is a primary need for basic health until the public learns to accept them as matters of course. No haphazard medical system can accomplish this. No doc-

tor whose livelihood depends upon fees can be expected to give preventive medicine a predominant place in his work. It would be simply impractical for him to be a saint, no matter how much ethics mean to him.

To achieve assurance of basic health, therefore, there is only one way open; namely, a highly organized and controlled medical system which not only controls the doctors by appointment and salary, not only is capable of working out every preventive measure on a practical and sound basis, but has authoritative power behind it. In other words state-medicine. Don't let us shy at the word! Don't let us fool ourselves by re-naming it delicately! It is a good word and means exactly what we want. Behind it lie authority and trustworthiness. Behind it lies impartiality instead of partiality. Behind it lies planning instead of chaos.

We do not think of private penitentiaries or corporation courts. Or of family post offices. Or of a happy-go-lucky system of highways maintained by individuals according to their fancy. Is not basic health the most important factor of a sound and well-balanced life of the whole nation? Is basic health not the sole reliable weapon we have against degeneration? Does not basic health hold within itself the very potentialities of happiness? How can we, with impunity, accord veto rights in a matter so vital to a small group who happen to have their livelihood connected with it? No doctor needs to be a doctor unless he so desires. And further, is it not incredible social backwardness that we have not recognized the importance of basic health decades sooner and done something about it? If for a moment we try to compute the price we are now paying for the lack of it in wasted lives, in inefficiency and suffering, to name only three things, even the most extravagant economist must stand aghast at such a wanton expenditure.

It is high time to make an about-turn. We cannot afford to wait or to be put off by random schemes. Let us make it absolutely clear that if we want to spend money wisely and live better we can accept no compromise in the matter of full assurance of basic health for all of us, call it what you like.

This is the first point. We now come to the second which is the best medical care for all who need it, irrespective of financial position or any other consideration. It is idiotic to cure one and neglect the other, so long as it is impossible to isolate those who can get hospital care and doctor's treatment in glasshouses from those who can't. But in considering this question we touch also upon another problem, that of proper food, airy and sanitary housing and so forth. While always keeping in mind this vital subject, it must be left at that for the moment.

We must, however, make our stand clear on what we mean by best medical care for everybody who needs it. We mean that there is only one kind of sick person and that is the person who is ill. When a person is sick, he is neither rich nor poor, neither a banker nor a farmer, but only sick. And he should have the best available care for his particular case when he needs it.

With the exception of luxuries, such as private wards and preferred doctors, the cost for basic treatment, which means best treatment, should be equal to all. It should be paid by taxes or a compulsory insurance system which would include all and leave no one out. Nothing can be had without paying, nor would it be proper or right that it should be for anyone. Free hospital and medical care is therefore not what we want, but we object to having to pay for it in a lump sum and at discriminating rates. We should realize that those who never or seldom need medical care pay their medical tax for their own sake as much as for that of others, since the well cannot live beside the sick and keep well.

Further, the feeling of security and relief in the knowledge that all our hospital and doctor's bills are being paid in advance no matter what happens, no matter who we are, should make the paying of this tax an undiluted pleasure.

There is yet another point to best basic treatment in sickness. This is the assurance of the skill employed in such treatment by those who give it. We will only discuss two aspects of this question.

First, we object to overworked doctors. What use for the mother in labor to have exercised the best care during pregnancy only to be left at the critical moment because the doctor had another pressing case at the same time? Or he might have been out all the previous night; and what man, unless a superman, has not his faculties dulled by extreme fatigue? The doctors themselves are the first to tell us of the toxic effects of fatigue. Why should we permit a doctor to come to us in such a state at a moment when our life may depend on him? And here we would like to interpose a question. Why in the name of all commonsense can we not have registered and qualified midwives for normal obstetrical work when the skilled physician is not absolutely necessary? It works well in other countries that are able to show a far lower maternal and infant mortality rate than we have ever known. Besides, owing to the scarcity of doctors, far too many of us have now to put up with entirely unskilled assistance at our confinements.

But this is only one branch of the doctor's work. What about the overtired doctor at the operating table, or at the accident case, or before the diagnosis of a dying patient? Many of these stories have never been told in full because of so-called medical etiquette.

Secondly, we object to medical ethics which permits a covering up of various more or less fatal malpractices, faulty diagnosis and faulty treatment, to the detriment and cost of the public. Can this be a subtle scheme of the medical profession to protect their vested rights and ensure for them the still most lucrative of all public services at the expense of Mr. and Mrs. Citizen? One wonders how it was possible for any doctor to miss diagnosing a case of diabetes at the very stage of coma and get away with it, to take only a recent example. The instances are legion, and it would probably serve no purpose to dig out the skeletons from the medical cupboards. But we wonder if there is any doctor, hand across heart, who can say he has never been involved in such practice?

If this is medical ethics, then medical ethics is vastly different from any other kind of ethics. We cannot countenance any system which demands that doctors cover up the mistakes of his colleagues. We must know that when we put ourselves under the care of a doctor he is compelled to do right by us or pass us on to someone who can, if not for the sake of professional integrity alone, then for the sake of the dire consequences he must expect. The right must be conceded us, Mr. and Mrs. Citizen, to hold that no doctor, being human after all, is infallible, and that when we take our case to another authority and are proved right to find redress. Under the present medical system this is a complete impossibility, for being laymen we are denied the right of redress in every single case of malpractice, faulty diagnosis and faulty treatment, except the few unconcealable ones, for the simple reason that the doctor cannot be wrong.

We want assurance of a system of medical service that provides a just two-way protection for the practitioner and the public against professional errors. We want assurance of the maintenance of skill of each practising medical man at peak level by an organization which is empowered to pension off over-age doctors; which, while providing a decent livelihood, offers full opportunity to unimpaired efficiency

by proper division of work amongst medical workers, with adequate periods of rest and study; which, by appointment and promotion based only on shown merit, can eliminate irresponsible and unskilful elements and so keep up the highest professional standard. In other words, we do not want too few doctors with too large incomes but enough well-paid doctors to serve us all well.

In summing up these objections of Mr. and Mrs. Citizen against the prevailing medical system, we cannot but think that each is based on sounder arguments than the combined objections of the doctors against state-medicine. Scientists never were strong in commonsense, and their love to surround the simplest things with rigmarole is well known. The health of the people must first be based on commonsense; but without scientific application and research, this will avail nothing. To us it has become impossible to accept compromises, for whatever excellent reasons. State-medicine (call it socialized medicine if it sounds better to you) is the only health plan which faces facts, dissects them from rigmarole, and gives us full assurance of getting what we have far too long been without—a fully controlled and planned medical service like any other vital public service. We are now beginning to realize the advantages of such a system to us, and find that they so much outweigh its possible or temporary disadvantages that we feel we shall be willing to give it our fullest measure of co-operation and support.

We leave it to the doctors to find out that, for them too, it contains a wealth of intrinsic benefits, not the least of which is planned purpose and a safeguarded professional standing. But these things, of course, will be discovered only by those doctors who have divested themselves of professional prejudices and who dare face the facts objectively and with a sincere will to put them right. We hope there are many more of them than we think.

The Sleepers

There will be no square of yellow light
Spilling from the open doorway into the street,
There will be no sudden illumination of man and woman
Clasped in a last passionate embrace.
There will be no agony in his eyes
Reaching after her departing figure;
There will be no blackout, no close-up.

But cutting through the prosaic years
Reality's searchlight will pause
On the unrelenting mask of his face, explore
The reasonless dam, not knowing the hurricane rivers
Of desire shored up against its walls.
And there will be endless afternoons spinning their time out
Pouring light over his face and hands,
Age coming quiet and slow as a tide
Over a smooth beach with hardly a ripple to show
The sharp rocks of longing
Buried seven fathoms below consciousness.

And in her there will be a cave of light
Concealed under the eyelids, a world
Springing alive in her fingertips;
And in her a riotous garden
Seven fathoms beneath the world will bloom
Where the white curve of his nostril, the carved earlobe
Will blossom to permanent shapes, give form
To her huge longing, and she will spread herself
A sighing caress in the seagreen sunlight
Filtered through oceans of sorrow.

Miriam Waddington.

*The Medal
Johnny hasn't won*



JOHNNY isn't fighting for medals . . .

Johnny doesn't even *like* fighting! He doesn't like sleeping in a slit trench instead of his own comfortable bed. He doesn't like killing other men. But he's doing it.

He faces death day after day. Sometimes he lives on nothing more than "iron ration." There's little chance for sleep. The enemy is always there, just out front.

Johnny hasn't won a medal. He hasn't been cited for "gallantry in the face of the enemy." He's just another soldier who is fighting bravely. After all, that's his duty. He's just another soldier willing to pay *his* price for *your* freedom!

Johnny asks only one thing . . . that the folks back home, *all* of them, pitch in to support him and the others like him.

He's willing to *give* everything. He expects *you* to *lend* your dollars. That's not much to ask, is it?

Get ready now to buy Victory Bonds.

PLANNING POST-WAR CANADA

A Special Section of THE CANADIAN FORUM

April, 1944

War Teaches Canada to Plan for Peace

Garland Mackenzie

4. APPLYING CONTROLS TO OUR PEACETIME ECONOMY (1)

► CANADA ENTERED the war as an inefficient economy, with vast resources unused or frivolously and wastefully used. We had to become productive and efficient to survive as a free nation. We put a measure of planning and order into our economic system and we doubled our productivity. Can we do the same in peacetime? If so, will the methods be similar?

An attempt to answer these questions must be tentative, a summation of the logical and probable rather than a prediction. With so much happening so rapidly, a large part of it shrouded in wartime secrecy, the only certainty is that we will never get back to the *status quo ante*.

With the above qualification, the answers to both questions are affirmative. Practically all of the wartime controls can be applied profitably in peacetime, even those which are most distasteful at present. There would be one great difference; in war, the object is to contract the civilian economy, in peace the object would be to expand it.

Let us review these measures and see how they would work out in peace. Let us skip the post-war re-adjustment period—even the die-hards now admit that controls have to be kept for a while—and see how they might apply over a lengthy period. How can our war experience be adapted to achieve the objects of a peace economy—full and balanced use of productive resources, an equitable distribution of the greatest volume of wealth and welfare compatible with a progressive reduction in the duration and intensity of the labor needed to produce and distribute it?

The first step in wartime expansion was the placing of government orders and use of the monetary and credit system to finance these orders. The measure put idle men, idle machines and idle materials to work, and the continuance of these measures brought about continuous expansion as long as there were any considerable quantity of idle men, machines or materials. There is no reason whatever why the same measures cannot be used to avert any mass idleness of men, machines or materials in peacetime.

This was what the Roosevelt administration tried to do in the '30s by public works, work relief and deficit financing. It was inadequate because not done on a sufficiently large or diversified scale. It is the basis of the proposals for full employment advanced by J. M. Keynes in England and by Professor Hansen in the United States. It is practically certain to be tried after the war by every industrial nation with a representative form of government, despite the lamentations of financial orthodoxy. It is hard to imagine an elected government ever again permitting a spiral of depression to develop as during the early '30s, or being deterred from substantial and effective recovery measures through fear of governmental spending and an unbalanced budget. Such a government would face immediate loss of

support in the legislature and certain extinction at the next election. The only real argument is, how far should such spending be carried; whether, as the more cautious thinkers suggest, it should be used sparingly and only as a balancing influence to take up the slack when private spending and private investment sag, or whether it should be used more radically to finance great welfare projects such as health, social security, free food, etc.

To be sure, these measures will raise some difficult problems in government finance and bookkeeping. They will doubtless lead to government ownership and operation of the banks and investing institutions, certainly to a control of these institutions as effective as the control now exercised by the head office of a chartered bank over its branches. No one can foresee all of the problems which will have to be solved nor answer all of the questions which can be raised, particularly if it should work out in practice to perpetual budgetary deficits. Admittedly it involves some dangers of inflation, and there may be political reasons making it harder to check a boom than halt a depression. Most people will be inclined to choose these risks rather than the alternative, a repetition of the '30s.

The plain fact is, the capitalist or private enterprise system does not generate the steady and balanced expansion of purchasing power needed to promote a full and steady use of its productive powers. Industry, agriculture and labor were quite capable of a large output of goods in 1932 or 1939, probably very close to the present volume. Labor was just as anxious for full employment then as now. But in those times there were not buyers for such a volume of goods, at any rate not at prices which would have been profitable to industry. So the goods were not produced and the men were not employed. Scores of attempts have been made to explain this dilemma, from the obviously faulty theories of Major Douglas to the abstruse reasoning of Mr. Keynes. Let us admit that none of them gives an absolutely airtight explanation, let alone an explanation that the man on the street can understand. What we do know is a remedy that has worked. To refuse to apply the remedy because we are not sure of the cause of the malady would be like a dentist refusing to fill teeth because no one is quite sure of the cause of dental decay.

Next, consider the peacetime uses of foreign trade and exchange control. The techniques of today fit into a peacetime plan in several ways, depending on the condition of the rest of the world. If there is a large and growing volume

AMEN!

Assuming that we shall make the main decision against the all-powerful state, we must stop talking in generalities, catchwords, slogans and mere catcalls about the Revolution, the counter-Revolution, Capital and Labor, Socialism and Reaction and get down to cases on the business of the day. We must consider the specific problems in front of us, one by one, instead of gathering them up under one name and banding them over to our betters for solution.

Bruce Hutchison, leading apologist for "Free Enterprise," in Maclean's Magazine

of international trade, control over exports would be little more than nominal, exerted chiefly to see that we would not export scarce items urgently needed at home merely to take advantage of small and temporary price differentials. Control of imports and the use of foreign exchange would probably work best on a priority basis. If we achieve a high level of employment and income there will be a huge public demand for all kinds of imported goods. If, at the same time, we were to launch a big program of industrial expansion and a policy of free food and improved national diet, we would want to import machines, machine tools and exotic foodstuffs in unprecedented quantities. In such a situation we might give priority to machines and foodstuffs, putting all other imports on quotas which could be varied according to the essentiality of the goods and the amount of foreign funds available after the prior needs were met in full.

If the world reverts to economic nationalism and high tariffs, control will be a potent instrument for minimizing the ill effects. Priority control of imports to put first things first would be more necessary than ever. Even more important would be positive action to promote mutually profitable deals with other countries. For example, the Foreign Exchange Controller could go to a high tariff U. S. government with a proposition something like this:

"Here is a list of the goods of which we have or can produce a surplus. You have high duties on all these goods. I suggest you examine the list and figure out how much of each item you can absorb each year without upsetting your domestic industry. If you grant us free entry up to this amount, we will place orders for an equal value in American goods. If you can take \$10,000,000, we will order an extra \$10,000,000 of your oranges and this will help your depressed fruit farmers. If you can take another \$50,000,000, we will plan on another \$30,000,00 of machinery and \$20,000,000 of coal, and this should be popular with your metal industries and unemployed miners."

If the U.S. were not interested, we should be able to find some other country that would be. Or the deal could be three-cornered; Canada to take extra American coal if the U.S. takes the equivalent in British textiles so the British can buy more Canadian bacon. Arrangements of this sort, with the government actually underwriting the deals, would be far more effective in promoting trade than old-fashioned tariff bargaining which could not guarantee the movement of one freight car or the spending of a dollar. Even if the Dominion Treasury had to take some losses, the cost would be far less than the ultimate cost of a policy of masterly inactivity.

There is a final point in favor of foreign exchange control and a positive governmental trade policy. Canada will probably be a creditor nation soon after this war, if she is not one already. The present position is almost impossible to discover, being partly a military secret; however it is known that most British investments in Canada have been liquidated. After the war, we will certainly share with the U.S. the job of supplying the liberated countries, and perhaps Great Britain, Russia and China, during the reconstruction period. We cannot expect immediate repayment in goods and we are not likely to make outright gifts on the scale required. Probably we shall first repatriate such Canadian investments as these countries and their nationals still possess, then make them long term loans repayable in easy stages. Also we are likely to participate in huge public or semi-public loans to speed the development of colonial and other undeveloped areas. All such post-war capital movements will almost certainly be under government supervision, perhaps under international supervision, to assure that they

VOICE OF THE BANKERS

At the present time partial regimentation is being practised here through the various orders of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and by the War Industries Control Board, as necessary to guide and guard our war effort, and as such has met general acceptance. Nevertheless, the public do not take kindly to the interference with their freedom which results from these necessary controls. Surely in the face of the present demands for abolition of these controls at the earliest possible date after the war, the public will not willingly and knowingly entertain any scheme which would impose greater restrictions upon them.

S. H. Logan,
President Canadian Bank of Commerce.

Certain of the wartime controls will of necessity be continued into the reconstruction period. At the same time it is hoped that their scope and objectives will be modified as quickly as possible. It is essential that we avoid the mistake of burdening our economy with regulations which, however important in the time of war, cease to have a meaning in the time of peace.

F. H. Marsh, President Bank of Toronto.

go for useful and productive purposes and that repayment will be at times and on terms that will not be upsetting to the economy of either borrower or lender. Also, we may hope that such financial policies will be co-ordinated with progressive and realistic foreign policies, that financial assistance will be generous to democratic and progressive governments and be withheld from incipient dictators, reactionary regimes and potential war-makers.

No doubt some people will deplore political domination of international trade and finance. The plain fact is that political power has to dominate such transactions to protect the public interest. Before the war, our trade was conducted on "sound business principles," i.e. we sold to the highest bidder and loaned money where the highest return was expected, with such results as British money going to help Hitler re-arm Germany, Canadian nickel going into Japanese and German armaments, American scrap iron going to build the Japanese Navy.

There are many peacetime applications of the comprehensive controls now exercised by DMS and WPTB. Some form of price control is obviously in the public interest, if only to protect against monopolistic extortion. A rigid price ceiling would not be desirable. Price changes are the indicators which, in a capitalist system, set in motion the forces which make adjustments to changes in public demand for particular goods or services and changes in the real cost of producing goods or rendering services. A rising price of an item indicates a relative scarcity and stimulates production by increasing the margin of profit over cost; a falling price indicates a relative abundance and tends to restrict production unless it is accompanied by falling costs. It will probably be convenient and desirable to allow these influences to operate to a considerable extent in any economic plan, for instance, in the wide range of goods that are not basic essentials. This seems to have been done in the U.S.S.R. before the war. In time of total war, a universal price ceiling is desirable because *all* goods are both relatively and absolutely scarce (including labor to produce them), and a stimulus to production of one essential item can be effected

only at the expense of another. Peacetime price control should therefore be elastic, and operate on some such set of principles as the following:

1. It would permit a price increase when the existing price was proven to be too low to cover legitimate costs, e.g., if a sub-standard wage scale were brought up to standard, or if the price of an imported raw material went up, or if the margin over material and labor costs were insufficient to maintain and replace plant and equipment. A Peacetime Prices and Trade Board would examine such cases and explore all ways of making an adjustment without increasing the retail price. If the industry had a wide profit margin, it would be required to absorb an increase in wages or materials. If it followed expensive and unnecessary marketing methods, wasteful competitive brand advertising, etc., it would be required to cease these practices. The Price Board could consider whether simplification and standardization would be in the public interest. It could examine productive technique and determine whether the industry was operating by the most efficient and modern methods, and perhaps recommend that the industry be renovated with financial assistance from the National Bank if necessary. It could examine wholesale and retail margins for a possible squeeze. If none of these methods could provide relief, the Board would consider whether the article was a basic essential, whether desirable to be supplied to the public at the lower price. If so, a subsidy would be paid; if not, a price increase permitted.

Coal might be a good example. Coal mining is a difficult and dangerous occupation; it would be equitable to pay coal miners a wage higher than the average, or to work a shorter than average week. But cheap coal is desirable both to householders and to industry. So it might be sound public policy to pay out of the general public revenue a substantial subsidy to coal mining. Alternatively, the Price Board and the Foreign Trade Board might find that our full need for coal could be met on a long term contract for imports at considerably less cost than the domestic price plus subsidy. If so, we could close the mines except for maintenance crews and a few experimental or pilot mines, conserve an important national asset, transfer the miners to other trades, pay them generously while retraining, and still show a net financial surplus on the deal.

2. The Board would make adjustments where the price of an item was so low as to unduly discourage production. Farm products provide good examples. If the price of cheese is low in relation to the price of butter, farmers will supply more milk for butter and less for cheese. If cheese were under a rigid price ceiling, several final results might occur; there might be all butter and no cheese, or the surplus butter might force down the price and all the milk go as fresh milk—none of either butter or cheese. It is unnecessary to go through all the possible combinations of absurdity. Long before any such stage were reached, the Board would be made aware of a cheese shortage and would have decided whether cheese should be subsidized or the price allowed to rise until a balance is reached.

Likewise, the price range for all dairy products might be low in relation to stock-raising, grain-growing and other types of farming. This would lead farmers to get out of dairy farming, and the Board would have to decide whether to subsidize all dairy products or to allow price increases all along the line, or to do a little of both, e.g. subsidize fresh milk and authorize price increases on butter and cheese.

3. The Board would conduct investigations into any industries where there was reason to believe that prices were too high, somewhat like the pre-war operations of Commissioners under the Combines Investigation Act but on a

THE VOICE OF BUSINESS

Business left to itself cannot reconvert the country from a war to a peacetime basis, and for the long range picture, business, reacting to the swings of human enthusiasm, will not by itself eliminate the trade cycle. . . . I have suggested that there has to be a freeing of private enterprise from government controls, because I believe private enterprise should be free to do the main job of production. . . . The bigger the area of operation controlled, the more serious the result of any mistake, and government control would be big control. If government didn't make mistakes perhaps we could entrust them with all our decisions, but before doing that, let us wait until government has demonstrated its ability.

Philip S. Fisher,
Chairman, Post-War Reconstruction Committee,
Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

If it is going to help win the war, we are willing to work at whatever we are told, at whatever wages the government sees fit and to eat or wear whatever the government thinks best. But when peace returns, make no mistake about it, we want our freedom back! . . . Economic control has been a universal failure wherever it has been tried. On the other hand, free enterprise, despite all its limitations, has rewarded the people who enjoyed it with the highest standard of living and the most rapid material progress the world has yet known.

Walter P. Zeller, President Zellers Limited.

much more comprehensive scale. This is the great difference between present and future price control. Apart from subsidized goods, WPTB has never gone into the question of whether ceiling prices should be lowered. In wartime there is some excuse for accepting a status quo, but a peacetime Planning Authority would insist that prices represent legitimate costs, which would not include dividends or interest on inflated capital valuations bearing no relationship to actual investment or replacement cost of plant and equipment.

One of the first jobs would be to force down prices wherever monopolies or price-rigging arrangements were forcing the public to pay unduly high prices. Probably this would lead to socialization in a number of industries not now thought of as specially ripe for public ownership. However, a Price Board would have to be equally vigilant in watching the prices charged by publicly-owned industry. Theoretically, the management of a publicly-owned industry would operate in the public interest; in practice it would probably take an, at most, two-sided view of that interest. Its primary aims would be a high level of salaries and wages in its own plants and a large surplus to finance its expansion or turn over to the public treasury. In brief, it would represent chiefly a producer viewpoint. The Board would represent the consumer point of view and negotiate price decreases which socialized industry would not make on its own initiative.

Any failure to reach a workable compromise on prices would be referred to the Planning Authority for arbitration, and this authority would be responsible to the Cabinet and indirectly to the electorate. Also, the Board would act as a safeguard against inefficient management and failure to keep up-to-date in publicly-owned industries, by efficiency

audits and studies of comparative costs and techniques as between one industry and another.

4. The Board would study costs and methods in different units of an industry and take measures to raise the efficiency of all to the level of the best. It would make available to the whole industry trade secrets and patented processes, and end the vicious practice of buying up inventions and discoveries in order to suppress new developments, an all-too-common technique of monopolistic and large-scale private industry. It could do this while arranging reasonable royalties and bonuses to individuals or groups who invent or develop valuable new techniques.

The Board would also examine the overall efficiency of the industry, consider whether there are expensive and socially useless practices to be eliminated, whether a specialization of plants on products or models would result in cheaper production and, if so, whether there should be a compensation fund between the units producing the cheap models and those on the elaborate, high-priced lines. It would consider whether there should be an amalgamation of smaller, weaker units with the stronger ones, whether management of a less efficient plan should be delegated to one of the more efficient. It might sponsor the development of a new type of trade association which would emphasize improvement of product and reduction of cost rather than enhancement of price, and demonstrate to the individual operator the value of democratic co-operation and self-regulation. In all this, the Board would be aiming at lower prices, but some of the benefits might be claimed by the workers in higher wages or by the producers of the primary raw materials. The Board would negotiate a compromise and, if an impasse were reached, refer it to the Chief Planning Authority.

By such methods the Board would be able to deal with the question of public versus private operation of any industry on the basis of careful study of facts rather than emotional political controversy.

Between free and competitive enterprise and a nationalized monopoly there are a dozen forms of industrial organization which have served the public interest at various times and places, depending on the nature of the industry and the nature of its product or service—provincial or municipal ownership, mixed public and private management with a public authority part-owner, producer co-operative, consumer co-operative, private ownership with management in the hands of a government-appointed controller, public and private ownership side by side (e.g. railways), public utility, private ownership under varying degrees of public regulation. An experimental approach to the problem should result in a diversity of suitable arrangements. No doubt this will be anathema to some orthodox socialists, but the experience of both wartime planning and large-scale industrial management indicates that the efficiency of centralized control is proportional to its ability to delegate responsibility for the less important matters. Public ownership and central control should be extended wherever they appear to be in the public interest, not extended universally in the interest of a theory.

5. The Board would consider how far standardization and simplification is desirable, how far variety and a wide range is in consumer's interest. Take one important example, housing. In the past, housing has been custom built, with infinite variety; and most of us dislike the idea of standardized homes. But custom-built housing is, on the whole, high-cost housing. In contrast, automobiles were mass-produced on a few standard models (although sufficiently variegated to suit most of us) and they were, on the whole, cheap. The production of pre-fabricated houses on a few assembly line

HANDS OFF THE BANKS!

Parliament has already set up effective control of Canada's credit and monetary policies through its wholly owned and ably managed agency, the Bank of Canada. In my judgment, further intervention by government in the business of banking would be entirely superfluous, and would not be welcomed by the great majority of those who have dealings with the banks.

*Morris W. Wilson,
President Royal Bank of Canada.*

Do the Canadian people at any time—and especially in time of war and facing post-war conditions—choose to discard a banking system which has proven its worth over such a large period of time, and substitute for it a nationalized system, unproven, with no skilled planning, under the direction of those in government who may not have any knowledge of banking—a system that likely would be infested by politics and political patronage? . . . Our people do not choose to be directed as to where and when they shall work, the hours that they are to work, the wages that they are to receive and the kind of work to be done. . . . Canada has not at all times been free from fear and want—that likely accounts to some extent for her progress. She has not accepted the philosophy of "plenty from the cradle to the grave" . . .

C. H. Carlisle, President Dominion Bank.

models might cut the cost substantially. The Board could analyze the known facts and permit the public to make an informed choice. It might report to the government that the assembly line method would provide adequate housing for the entire population in, say, six years, at a half billion dollars yearly, and provide a limited variety, whereas the other method would take more years and dollars but provide much more variety. It could also inform the public through pamphlets, press releases, radio, discussions with local groups, etc. Then, when public opinion had crystallized, one plan or the other could be launched, or perhaps both in varying degrees.

In items less important than housing the Board would make its own decisions, always subject to amendment in the light of experience and to review by the Central Planning Authority and the Cabinet.

6. The Board would watch the cost-of-living index carefully to see that any increases were more than balanced by other decreases. It would check that index carefully to make certain that it was accurate. It would probably have many indexes set up for different areas, and study the whole question of differences between areas and how far such differences could be smoothed out, how far they represented permanent conditions. For instance, it seems reasonable that the cost of living in Aklavik should be higher than in Hamilton, but there may be differences between Hamilton and Sudbury which have no economic justification. The Board might also develop a second index; the present one for basic needs, and a new one to take in amenities such as automobiles and gasoline, public entertainment, books and magazines, holiday resort accommodation, labor-saving household appliances.

[In his concluding article, Mr. Mackenzie will discuss further aspects of possible peacetime controls].

World Cartels in Aluminum and Acetic Acid

A. J. Rosenstein

► GERMANY'S OVER-ALL DESIGN of world conquest stems from the Bismarck era and the consolidation of the German principalities. In previous articles, the writer discussed the plan whereby German big industries and political aims were integrated into her machine for world conquest by the use of power politics and by cartelization of industry, national and then international. This plan called for the political unification of the German principalities, and for economic "unification" by means of industrial combines under government auspices, together with a form of intense economic nationalism sheltered behind tariff barriers. These tariff barriers permitted the expansion of German industry and the growth of its productivity.

With the completion of the process, after the inflation of 1923, and the reduction of the German middle class to an economic nonentity, the Weimar Republic and the trades union movement of the Reich were gradually transformed into rimless zeros. National Socialism became the catspaw of the cartels and of the Prussian dreamers of world domination.

The essential feature of the plan for world conquest was to develop the fortress of Europe as a fortress of self-sufficiency as well as a military stronghold. Economic self-containment had to be achieved by the Reich in such a manner as to take full advantage of the readiness of industrialists, prevalent in all the democracies, to discourage free competition. The purpose of the plan was the constriction of productive capacity in the democracies so as to provide a species of military anaesthesia to keep the prospective victims quiescent while German political surgeons carved up the world. Perhaps this acquiescence of the democracies might provoke the use of the word "patients" instead of "victims."

Joseph Borkin and Charles A. Welsh, in their brilliant discussion of cartels entitled *Germany's Master Plan* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce Inc., 1943) said: "During the past twenty years this cartel device has been the first line of German assault. Not all cartels were controlled by German concerns. Yet, because restriction in other countries served the interests of Germany, every Dutch, English or American monopolist who signed a contract or instituted a policy limiting its output added to German power. . . . To business men in the United States, England and France, international cartels were an efficient means of guaranteeing monopoly. They regarded division of both territory and fields of production as comfortable and easily policed methods by which they could free themselves from competition and create spheres of monopoly. . . . The softest impeachment that can be made of those American, British and French industrialists who consorted with German interests, is that they knew not what they did."

In this and in following articles will be found concrete examples, among many, of the efficiency, both from the military and economic standpoint, of Germany's cartel operations.

Acetic Acid and Other Acetylene Products

To the average individual acetic acid is known as vinegar, which is really a dilute form of acetic acid. To the industry of a nation, at war and in peace, acetic acid is a vitally important chemical necessary in the manufacture of rayon, fire-proof photographic film, important plastics. It is used in lacquers, paints and varnishes; in pharmaceuticals, par-

ticularly salicylic acid or aspirin and salvarsan for the treatment of venereal disease; in the manufacture of dyestuffs, such as indigo; in the printing and dyeing of textiles; and in the tanning of leather.

Originally derived from the destructive distillation of hardwood, acetic acid became one of the early synthetics. A German process for its synthetic manufacture was used in 1915 by I. G. Farbenindustrie, the great German combine, and by a company at Shawinigan Falls, Quebec.

The U.S. Government could not force the production during Great World War I, and was obliged to subsidize additional Canadian plant facilities for U.S. requirements. In 1927, however, when the process was finally patent-free, a U.S. plant was established at Niagara Falls by the Niacet Chemicals Company. One-third interest in the company was held by the Union Carbide and Carbon interests; one-third by a company which later became a subsidiary of the duPont interests; and the remaining third was controlled, peculiarly enough, by the Shawinigan producer.

With the U.S. demand for acetic acid rapidly expanding, I. G. Farben of Germany was not dilatory. In the early 1930's I. G. held the U.S. patents on a new and promising process for the manufacture of acetylene, which is an important raw material for synthetic acetic acid. By a clever and adroit manipulation of its U.S. patents and its industrial relationships with Standard Oil of N. J., the German cartel giant prevented full utilization of the process, keeping it on the shelf although domestic demand was expanding, and protecting I. G.'s foreign markets from American exporters' competition.

In 1929, Standard Oil and I. G. Farben had eliminated all competition between themselves, recognizing each other's supremacy in the oil and chemical industries respectively, with the exception that *domestic German oil markets were reserved to I. G. in all cases*, while in the chemicals industry the U.S. was not excluded from I.G.'s sphere. Standard could not get the same privileges.

In 1930, pursuant to this understanding, I. G. and Standard organized a chemical company in the U.S. called Jasco Inc., to develop and exploit new processes for making chemical products. There was a 50-50 control, subject to the limitations of the 1929 understanding regarding the separate spheres of chemicals and oil.

By 1931, the Jasco synthetic process of making acetylene had progressed sufficiently for Standard and I. G. to consider the sale of the Jasco plant's output. Standard, being a large user of acetic acid in the manufacture of industrial solvents through its subsidiary, Standard Alcohol Co., naturally wanted the output, and I. G. Farben agreed, providing the acetic acid obtained would be used by Standard for its own purposes only. This was I. G.'s way of making certain that it did not disturb the U.S. acetic acid market and "provoke retaliatory action by American producers by way of exports into world markets hitherto dominated by I. G. Farben."

But in depression years Jasco's output, small as it was, was greater than Standard's own requirements. The disposal of the surplus, however, was something I. G. would not entrust to Standard. So the sales were handled by Advance Solvents & Chemical Corp., the American sales agent of I. G. Farben, with specific instructions not to undersell or in any way disturb the American price structure, although the low-cost production of Jasco enabled the latter to offer deadly competition.

Indeed, I. G. Farben was so concerned about not upsetting the acetic acid market that it arranged to keep Jasco's most important competitor, the Niacet Chemicals Co., fully informed of Jasco's development.

Despite all caution, Advance Chemicals apparently disturbed the market of Niacet Chemicals, because on March

14, 1934, a Union Carbide and Carbon official stated (according to Vom Rath of the Advance Chemicals) that one of Union Carbide's largest customers had made a purchase and obtained quotations. This customer was the Tennessee-Eastman Corp., which was trying to get lower prices from Niacet Chemicals.

Very promptly and speedily a meeting took place, and arrangements were concluded whereby Advance Chemicals sold Jasco's surplus output to Niacet Chemicals at market price less 5%, the market price to be determined by Niacet but not to be less than a minimum of 6.40 cents per pound.

Thus, the disposal of Jasco's production was indirectly but effectively placed under the sales control of Jasco's sole competitor, Niacet Chemicals, and Tennessee-Eastman's search for lower-priced acetic acid ended in a blind alley.

Then Niacet lowered Jasco's output by agreeing to take only a small maximum, placing a ceiling on Jasco's sales and making Jasco dependent entirely on Standard's ability to absorb any increase in output.

I. G. Farben, having successfully constricted domestic production, was now ready to attend to the export question by attempting to close down Jasco altogether. I. G. proposed that the Union Carbide interest, the duPont interests and I. G. join in operating Jasco's plant and process. Standard objected. A compromise arrangement was effected because I. G. wanted to keep the picture attractive while negotiating with duPonts and Union Carbide; but negotiations having collapsed owing to the hamstringing of Jasco to the point where it was no longer a threat and did not warrant acquisition, Jasco was abandoned in 1935, and as late as 1943 had not resumed operations.

According to a U.S. Senate investigation, however, Niacet Chemicals in April and May, 1941, stated it could not meet more than 50% of its commitments to regular customers.

Aluminum

The aluminum industry has been a pork barrel which, under a system rendering lip service to free enterprise, has been denied to the appetite of the ordinary individual. During its half century of existence, it has been dominated by a small number of firms. The huge investment required for the electrolytic separation of the material, the scarcity of raw materials (bauxite and cryolite), and the opposition by vested interests to the growth of any new aluminum ventures, have kept the aluminum business a "closed corporation."

As is characteristic in many of these cases, the basic patents have expired and the manufacture is patent free.

According to Eugene Staley in his book, *Raw Materials in Peace and War*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, nearly all of the world output before World War I was concentrated in five companies, one in America, one in Switzerland, two in France, and one in Great Britain.

As a result of World War I, aluminum alloys were further developed, and many new uses for the material discovered, with a resultant permanent increase in consumption. Recognizing the military significance of aluminum, governments as a matter of policy nursed along domestic aluminum production in Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Spain and the Soviet Union.

European countries, fearful that Alcoa's acquisition of interests in European plants and ore deposits, and the increase in its Canadian productive capacity—all started in 1923—foreshadowed American control of world aluminum output, took defensive measures. According to Staley, measures were taken by the French and Swiss companies to make it difficult for outsiders to acquire control. Aluminum prices were not deflated as much as those of tin and copper.

In 1923, Staley says, European producers reached an agreement confined to price fixing, and in 1926 this was developed into a stronger cartel, which lasted until 1931. This cartel included all four of the leading European countries and three of the four smaller firms. Its purposes were alleged to be the exchange of patents and experience, co-operative cultivation of markets, reduction of costs and prices, and stabilization of price, each member being allotted an agreed percentage of aggregate sales of ingot aluminum.

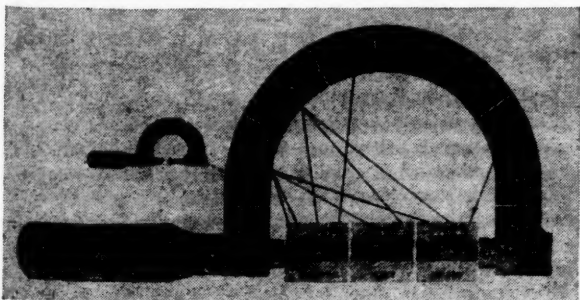
In 1931 Alliance Aluminum Company of Basel, Switzerland, was set up and incorporated, rigidly restricting output by a quota system to be verified by periodic audits. Originally intended to last 99 years, its set-up permitted dissolution on six months' notice by one or several shareholders controlling one-seventh of the total share capital.

Not included were the Russian producers, two Italian companies and Alcoa. However, Aluminum Limited, a Canadian company formed in 1928 when Alcoa was reorganized, owns approximately thirty per cent of the stock.

According to Borkin and Welsh, in their expose, *Germany's Master Plan*, in 1928, Alcoa sold to Aluminum Company Limited in Canada all the foreign properties it possessed, excepting its Dutch Guiana bauxite mines and a few minor holdings. In this brilliant book, we are told that the consideration was 490,875 shares of Alted's stock, distributed proportionately to the principal stockholders of Alcoa, and that as late as 1940 the owners of 81.53% of Alcoa's stock also held 83.93% of Alted's stock.

With this reorganization the aluminum industry was free to participate in world cartels without fear of prosecution under American anti-trust legislation.

When Germany embarked on her huge rearmament program, she was confronted with the restrictions imposed by Alliance Aluminum of Basel. So the Vereinigte Aluminium Werke and I. G. Farben's Aluminum Werke sought release from quota restrictions. The non-German members, including Alted, objected; but capitulation followed. The com-



This diagram represents the international aluminum cartel as at the outbreak of hostilities, built simply on capital power and bauxite monopolies—the handle of the micrometer being the controlling cartel corporation, wholly owned by the five dominant nationals shown around the arc, which in turn held three other national blocs (solid lines indicating line of ownership). Aluminum Co. of America had no connection with the cartel, a U.S. District Court judge has decreed—though there is a relationship between Alcoa and Aluminium, Ltd., of Canada, the common stock of both being owned by substantially the same stockholders. The cartel broke up in 1937 on the rock of Germany's insistence upon expanding its production beyond its quota.

Drawing by Herbert Bayer, reproduced, by permission, from the September, 1942, issue of FORTUNE.

promise arrangement did not satisfy Germany's needs, and V. A. W. demanded freedom not only to produce to capacity but even to expand capacity. The request was granted, on Germany's promise to buy a ton of aluminum for every ton exported, so as not to affect the world market.

The moral does not need belaboring. When the present war broke out, U.S. and democracies' capacity was pitifully stunted by high price and low output policies, and the gnashing of the angry public's teeth merely provided a tuneful obligato to a cosy song of profit.

This Canadian Poetry

Dorothy Livesay

► IT MIGHT BE suggested that before any lay reader, or tentative poet, sets out to complain of the verse he reads today—whether in *The Canadian Forum* or in its American contemporaries—he must first know his background. The seventeenth century metaphysical poets, with John Donne in the vanguard, and the French symbolists from Baudelaire to Mallarmé, Laforgue, Claudel, are prerequisites. Know these, and Eliot is an easy step. From *The Waste Land* to the specialized language and manner of Auden, Day Lewis, Spender, and you are all set to plunge into the “new euphism” of Dylan Thomas and his satellite, George Barker.

Breathless? Vocally resistant? Then for an antidote take A. J. M. Smith's anthology, *The Book of Canadian Poetry*: absorb it in heart and mind. What you will find there is perhaps the best orientation towards Canadian poetry today. The critiques of W. E. Collin and E. K. Brown are valuable also, but to my way of thinking they lose perspective in dealing with their contemporaries. Over-praise is the most dangerous medicine this country can take.

Smith is more objective. There are two themes in his book which must be noted and understood. As in a symphonic poem they run separately, then together, then fuse into something new—only to be again distinct as the book concludes. These themes are roughly: the poetry of the “native tradition” led by Isabella Valancy Crawford and Lampman, today represented by Raymond Knister, Charles Bruce, Earle Birney, Anne Marriott, etc.; and the poetry of the metaphysical and cosmopolitan tradition, inaugurated by Heavysege and climaxed by the work of Smith himself, of Finch, Klein, Gustafson and finally Patrick Anderson.

Smith's one weak point seems to be his assumption that the latter group represent the last word. “They are Canadian poets because they are importing something very much needed in their homeland.” But are they? Granted that the new orientation was needed: it is still a question whether it has been honestly assimilated. For the poetry of many of the younger ones (not of the McGill group, which has had its impact as such) often shows bewilderment, imitation. There is a yearning to break free, but it is rarely accomplished.

Take for instance these fine words about aim, written by P. K. Page in Preview:

“Today the poet is no longer silent. He has yet to come to grips with himself and stop crying ‘Help’ from the prairies and woods and mountains. If instead he will hitch-hike to the towns and identify himself with his own people, forget for awhile the country of his own head, he may find his age and consequently his belief.”

Unfortunately many of the poems written by P. K. Page or Neufville Shaw or Patrick Anderson continue to be about

the country of their own heads; and moreover in a language, a “manner,” out of someone else's head—be it Stephen Spender, Dylan Thomas or George Barker. I quote:

But when his tears froze solid to a cane
To beat his hands into the grasp of love,
His flesh baroque and empty as a church
Rocked the more real alleys of his search.

Patrick Anderson.

and

Invalid, I,
And crippled by sleep's illness
Drowned in the milk of sheets
And silk of dreams.

P. K. Page.

and

I am encompassed with myself,
Leaning through the socket of my eye
And feeling lands unfold like fans.

Neufville Shaw.

This is the language of Euphuus; and endless quotations could be given, where florid texture and fascinating use of rhyme give the mind a somersault, but leave no ideas in it. It is possible, however, that a writer with the obvious creative energy of Anderson may be able to reach the synthesis he urges: “between the lyric and didactic elements in modern verse, a combination of vivid, arresting imagery and the capacity to ‘sing’ with social content and criticism.” In a poem like “The Soldier” Anderson does achieve something of this. Four lines from the final passage will testify.

O soldier in death's clout
and cast of human time
doubt is the enemy
as freedom is the force.

Putting an idea into poetry is always a far more difficult feat than explaining your idea in prose. The fact that Anderson sometimes contrives to do both signifies his honesty. Many a young writer would do well to listen to these words of his: “Our task is clear: not only to help in the winning of the war by our literary work . . . but also to supply something of the personal, the graceful and the heroic to the atmosphere of this half-empty Dominion.”

I have quoted extensively from the Preview group because they are a group, and have made their point of view felt more significantly than a lone writer like James Wreford, another poet who has adopted Canada and who writes of it in the metaphysical manner, but satirically, didactically, personally. His lyricism is pure, and unclouded by the mannerisms of Montreal. It will be fascinating to see which of the two styles develops further; and whether either will develop into sustained and powerful poetry. In any case, the experiment will be of extreme value to contemporary poets.

And who are these? Still to be heard from are the poets of the Native Tradition. To them, nature is foremost in the picture: but man's relationship to it is equally arresting.

Take Miriam Waddington:

Your voice has the golden slurr
The rough gritty burr burr
Of large wheat stalks sloughed by wind,
While your face is on my horizon
Like the familiar landmark always
Of grain elevator against a flat sky.

Or Earle Birney:

SUN,
proud Bessemer, peltwarmer, beauty
these weeks steer us to scan sky for you.

FOR MISSING PAGES SEE:
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Or Anne Marriott:

Hawk, wind-scouring, cuts,
a pointed shadow on the drab scant grass.

And three of the neglected names in this group will bear much re-reading: Raymond, Knister, Kenneth Leslie and Charles Bruce. The latter, together with E. J. Pratt, has been singled out by the *Manchester Guardian* as a convincing poet.

Quotations are scarcely fair, but I hope I have given an inkling of what these individual poets are achieving, though quietly and not yet with the intensity of a Hopkins or a Housman: they seem to be able to put the feel of the country and its people into their words. As A. J. M. Smith has said: "Birney's poetry is 'Canadian' in the only way that is worth anything, implicitly and inevitably; and along with pride in the best elements of Canadian life there is found a sense of shame and anger at all that is servile and corrupt."

It seems to me that in the furtherance and broadening of this native tradition our hope lies. Let it be clear: there must be nothing self-conscious about its development. To write in the native tradition does not mean penning patriotic odes on our war dead; it does not even mean that a specific Canadian locale must be pictured.

Of all the arts in Canada, poetry stands closest to our history, our culture, and our everyday way of thought. Canadian painters have given us a reflection of our geography, our topography. No novelists, excepting perhaps F. P. Grove, have dealt with our social life as it really is. No satirists, not even Stephen Leacock, have satisfactorily portrayed our idiosyncrasies. In this country music and drama are in their infancy: poetry alone, however mediocre much of it is, has consistently reflected fundamental relationships. Isabella Valancy Crawford first showed us as a pioneer people wrestling with nature. Lampman's difficulty in adjusting himself to the coming industrial age was the problem of most people who sat on the sidelines. And finally the recent struggles for social change, the turn to war and the search for peace, have found their reflection in the poetry of such writers as Anne Marriott, F. R. Scott, Earle Birney. Poets, too, are proving better historians than those who gave us our school text-books. Pratt's *Bréboeuf* is an example which may well be followed.

Yes, Canadian poetry is Canada — imperfect, groping, smug: but in places expressing objectivity, lyricism, passion.

These are the qualities we need to look for in the younger poets:

Objectivity: to be truly the channel for an idea. (How desperately often the idea is merely "self-expression" — psychoanalysis, not poetry.)

Lyricism: to be absent no longer from song. (There is still music in these mountains! There is time to dance.)

Passion: to be unafraid of emotion. (The fear of sentimentality has killed many.)

I would offer these standards both to poets and to editors: urging that they ignore the stylized façade which usually buries the idea past usefulness. Above all, it should be remembered that a second-rate conception of nationality, as ours has been, leads only to second-rate poetry. Arthur L. Phelps of Winnipeg put it succinctly, speaking of our paucity as compared with the vitality of the arts in Russia. "To the Russians," he said, "art is proclamation and passion. It is the light of health on the face of society."

All of Canada's young poets have been over-concerned with our illness. Time now for an act of faith, for an affirmation.

Books of the Month

TOWARD A BETTER WORLD: Jan Christian Smuts; Collins (Duell, Sloan & Pierce); pp. xxxvi, 308; \$3.50.

Since it is the universal habit of politicians to justify the expediences of the moment by appeals to general principles of timeless validity, one of the most severe tests to which any statesman can submit is to have his old speeches re-printed. It must be said that Marshal Smuts comes out of this test fairly well. He is obviously much more of a philosopher than any of his contemporaries in the English-speaking world; and, as such, much more aware of the relation of his actions to underlying principles than are any of our other present-day heroes. He is, for example, a man of a much wider range of interests than is Mr. Winston Churchill, whose crisis-rhetoric will inevitably become a little tiresome as the crisis passes.

But the speeches chosen in this collection combine to produce a portrait that not merely omits the warts but also suggests the halo round the subject's head. Why was Smuts so long known in his own country as Slim Jan Smuts? Why is he so unpopular with labor? What have sociologists and humanitarians to say about his policies on the color question which are so seductively presented here? You would never guess from the speeches printed in this volume that such questions could even be asked.

Still, these speeches do show why Marshal Smuts is the only statesman of the British Dominions who has emerged from two successive world wars as a man of more than local significance. What professional scientists think of his incursions into the philosophy of science I do not know, but at any rate they elected him president of the British Association. And his words about the British Commonwealth in 1917 and later, about the League of Nations (in 1934 he wanted it to be a conference-room of the nations, not "an international war office"), about South Africa's position in greater Africa and in the world at large, are worth preserving. Like his statements on the color question at various times, they show that he is not quite the consistent political philosopher that his editors would make him out to be. His function has been to express most perfectly what right-thinking persons (i.e. members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and its colonial branches) thought, at any given moment, about the British Commonwealth in 1917, about the League in 1934, about the Great Powers of the United Nations in the early 1940's.

F. H. U.

TOMORROW ALWAYS COMES: Vernon Bartlett; Macmillan; pp. 128; \$1.50.

In this "unlived diary, written now in the hope that I may not have to live it later on," a noted English journalist, broadcaster and member of parliament envisages some of the things that may easily happen after the defeat of Germany unless we resolve now that they shall not happen. Introducing his diary with a sketch of the tendencies observable in the principal United Nations today, he begins his hypothetical entries with the news, received in London on June 30 (year unspecified), of the German army's surrender in Southern Austria, and ends them on November 15, in Washington, with the Preliminary Peace Conference just getting under way. Flying between London, Berlin, Munich, Paris and Washington, observing conditions, reading newspapers, listening to broadcasts by his old journalistic colleagues, chatting with diplomats and newspapermen, or sitting in the British House of Commons, he experiences and chronicles the confusion and disharmony of a world released

from the European war but still fighting Japan. The chaos and hopelessness of a Germany lacking any government save that of bored United Nations troops and bickering inter-allied commissions; the war weariness and destitution of peoples ravaged by hunger, typhus, tuberculosis and "Polish influenza"; the friction and suspicion between the former allies over political and economic questions and the war with Japan; the obstruction of selfish vested interests; dissension over the treatment and re-education of Germany, the trial of war criminals, air-transport, and the constitution of an international police force, within the Peace Conference itself—all these are vividly described. In his concluding chapter, however, Mr. Bartlett counsels against despair and offers some reasons for hope: "It is because I believe in our power, the power of ordinary, humble men and women, that I have asked you . . . to realize how great an effort we shall have to make when the war is over. . . . Even if we were to be defeated we would still fight on, for the surrender of our belief that man may be the master of his fate would take the salt and savor out of life. But we shall not be defeated." We heartily commend this "cautionary tale."

C. M.

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1875-1911: C. C. Tansill; Yale University Press; pp. XVIII, 507; \$4.50

This is the twenty-fourth volume in the Carnegie series of special studies in Canadian-American Relations. It is a volume for historians rather than for the ordinary reader, since it consists of a meticulous and exhaustive study of certain selected topics that arose during the years under review. Professor Tansill has built his story round four main themes: the North Atlantic Fisheries Disputes, the Fur-Seal Disputes in the North Pacific, the Alaskan Boundary Question, and the movement for Commercial Union.

By selecting four main issues of this kind, the author has been able to write at greater length and thoroughness than if he attempted to cover all aspects of Canadian-American relations during this interval. He has also had the advantage of access to a great deal of hitherto unused manuscript material. He has, as Dr. Shotwell explains in his foreword, "carefully explored and worked to great advantage" the public archives of Canada, the national archives of the United States and the vast collections in the Library of Congress. He is thus able to give the inside story of the diplomatic developments, and to assess the influence of personalities, more completely than others who have covered the same ground. For this reason his volume is likely to become the standard work on the matters discussed.

To the Canadian reader of today the retelling of the story of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute, and of the movement for Commercial Union, will have the greatest interest. The generally accepted view that the Canadians had no reliable authority for their Alaskan claims is supported; but the quotations from private correspondence of Roosevelt and others bring out more clearly than hitherto the full meaning of the "big stick" attitude of the Washington administration. In the face of Roosevelt's imperialist intransigence, Lord Alverstone's "betrayal" can be understood; it was a frank recognition of greater power in a power-politics game. It was fortunate for Canada that the issues at stake were, when viewed in the light of later history, of relatively minor importance.

The story of Commercial Union fills in more detail of the long tale of Canadian-American economic relationships. It is interesting to note how widespread during the 1880's and 1890's was the notion of complete economic union with United States. Recent Gallup Polls seem to show that we

are entering another such period. As usual, the vested interests in Canada which would be hurt by economic union or unrestricted reciprocity resorted to patriotism and Empire loyalty as a means of disposing of their adversaries' arguments. Every left-wing party in Canada meets the same flag-waving opposition.

The very thoroughness and meticulousness of this study make one wonder whether there may not soon be a need for a series of short, general studies of Canadian-American Relations based on the Carnegie series. The latter are producing voluminous research, which now adds up to a mountainous pile terrifying to behold in bulk. What many people want today is a simpler view of the general landscape, so that they will not get lost in the social movements of our time.

F. R. Scott.

EUROPE'S CHILDREN: Thérèse Bonney; "Children in Peril" (Limited Autographed Edition); \$4.00.

This is the complement of Otto Zoff's book, *They Shall Inherit the Earth*, reviewed in *The Canadian Forum* last month. He writes of what the war is doing to the children of the world: Thérèse Bonney, the famous American photographer, gives us actual pictures she herself has taken of children in Finland, Spain, France and England. These photographs are for those who, like De Stogumber in Shaw's *Saint Joan*, have to see suffering before they realize what it is like.

Reviewers have extolled her artistry. They are right. The book sent me looking back at a publication of 1933 (a less artistic product) by *The Daily Express* of London, England, entitled *The First World War*. It is a photographic history of what the editor then called "The Mad Comedy of Armageddon"; the last picture at the very end of the book is of a happy mother and father with their baby. The caption under this is a simple question mark.

Miss Bonney's book is the terrible answer to that question mark of 1933. "No staged pictures—no misleading captions—this is the truth for which I vouch." She gives us a few pictures of happy pre-war children, then the impact of war; children fleeing along the roads of France, starving post-civil war Spanish children, courageous little Jewish children behind the barbed wire of a concentration camp, a mother only forty years old who looks eighty, undernourished children, starving pot-bellied babies. (These are in the *Daily Express* book too. Are we going to allow history to repeat itself? Many of the Nazis of 1933 were previously the undernourished children of the war and post-war years.)

"So few have understood—the Quakers, Red Crosses, Nuns," "They (the children) not the Germans get the little sent," "It is quite evident the coming generation is in peril," "A handful of the millions despaired of have been saved," "Not just in one country . . . one child . . . whole families . . . millions—feed them before it is too late," are some of her titles.

Are we so sated with stories of suffering that we can no longer make any response to the appeals of these innocents? As preface, Miss Bonney quotes Matt. XXV: 32-40. We must hope that this book comes to the attention of those in the allied governments who are in a position to help immediately.

Gwenyth Grube.

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THE NEEDLE TRADES: Joel Seidman; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 110; \$3.00.

The Needle Trades by Joel Seidman is the first book of the Farrar & Rinehart series on twentieth century organized labor. It was followed by *Men and Coal*, reviewed in last month's *Canadian Forum*.

The book is a helpful sequel to the "Song of the Shirt," famous lament of an earlier age. It traces the turbulent, strike-ridden history of the polyglot needle trades workers from their early days of unimaginable exploitation to their present-day position of tight organization and vastly improved standards. Each union in the industry—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (men's clothing), the International Ladies Garment Workers, the United Garment Workers (overalls, work clothes, etc.), the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers and the Fur Workers—is followed in detail from birth to current status.

Non-unionists will be interested in the book for its study of the stabilizing effect of unionism upon a normally and naturally chaotic industry. Employers in the low-capitalization needle trades, it appears, are also "sold" on worker organization.

Unionists and active political workers will enjoy the bold and apparently impartial study of political factionalism within the union movement. Led from their inception by politically-conscious workers, the needle trades have felt the full brunt of internal warfare between socialist and communist factions. Seidman does not draw any "anti-politics" conclusion from this fact, merely points out that the tight group control made necessary by such internal factionalism carries a danger of possible bureaucracy in the future of both socialist and communist controlled organizations.

Unionists will find another puzzle solved by the book—the puzzle of the Amalgamated's support of the C.I.O. as opposed to the ILGWU's adherence to the A.F. of L.

The book has certain drawbacks. Seidman pays scant attention to developments outside of the highly-centralized New York garment area. Since he is an educationist rather than a newsman the book is sadly lacking in colorful human interest spots and is not as sparkling reading as, for example, Coleman's *Men and Coal*. In this desire to explain the "why" of each development, the writer packs in an amazing amount of detailed data on both the industry and the unions which is not essential to the book.

Murray Cotterill.

CANADIAN ART, 1820-1940: William Colgate; Ryerson; pp. 278; \$5.00.

Canadian art did not begin suddenly with the Group of Seven, says Mr. Colgate (although who ever said it did?) but what we now know as a very important milestone was helped along by the cumulative influence of all those courageous ones who preceded them in painting Canada as they saw it. And so in this book many of the obscure names are added to the record and a good deal of information brought into light from archives: information such as that contained in Robert Gagen's chronicle of early Ontario artists, up to now in typescript only.

A great deal of this ranks as curiosa now perhaps, about an age of memoir-writing gentlemen and ladies who sketched, until the professional painters came along to supply the demand for genre and still life pictures and won medals at fairs. The history of various schools and art societies is traced, and the founding of the National Gallery at the suggestion of the Earl of Dufferin who was not above a spot of brushwork himself. Commercial engraving employed artists at the end of the '80's. They formed clubs for sketching and social times, and enjoyed Bohemia in a mild way.

The book is obviously the result of a good deal of research and a lifetime of interest in the subject which perhaps overload it with catalogue details for the average reader. One tends to bog down in painters whose work is not illustrated, and I find Mr. Colgate's estimate of certain contemporary artists rather uneven.

The story of Ontario artists has been told before. In addition, Mr. Colgate's book devotes a good deal of attention to what was happening in turn in Quebec, in the Maritime Provinces and in the West. He winds up with a short discussion of sculpture and various forms of graphic and applied art. He analyses the problems and hopeful signs in the way of public recognition of the value of all forms of art to Canadian life. The book is beautifully designed by Thoreau MacDonald and has many black and white illustrations.

Helen Frye.

THE LIFE THAT NOW IS: John L. Davidson; The Crucible Press; pp. 200; \$1.00.

This book is obviously the product of an original thinker and has considerable significance as a protest on the part of the layman against the trend of recent years toward too much specialization and mechanized efficiency. It is, in general, an appeal for a more intelligent appreciation of nature and of natural laws. We are told in the preface that most of the book had been written before 1939 so that, as a discussion of present-day society, as the title implies, it chiefly has reference to peacetime conditions.

Unnatural living habits, facilitated, if not encouraged, by big business, have brought unhappy social life, with disease and divorce. "It is indeed a tangled world when we are taught to avoid natural courtship in the moon-lit harvest field lest the occasional healthy but illegitimate child appear on the scene and are hounded into a toxic courtship arranged for us by the firms who wish to sell cigarettes and drinks..." Bitter comments are also made upon present-day education. "Since the pedagogue must be remunerated for determining the extent to which youth is to be denatured it does not pay to offend the possessors of wealth. The history lesson will not, therefore, include a description of the exploitations of the lower types of mankind... and much less an account of those exploitations tolerated today."

Changes in living habits must come, but they must be gradual changes to conform with natural laws. Better eating habits should be encouraged by legislation. "The secret of a successful social reform rests unquestionably in making an adjustment so that everyone is enabled to adopt more natural living habits." A branch of the department of health should advise the government in its programs of taxation with the object of making people healthier. "Generally speaking, the products which should be kept free from taxation are vegetables, fruits, milk and certain nuts... On the other hand, those products which should be heavily taxed are meats, refined cereals and many kinds of manufactured foods."

There is a certain attraction about a book of this sort that was evidently written not to make money, or espouse the cause of any religious sect or political party but simply in order to make some personal proposals for human betterment. It is valuable, if only for its advice on diet. The author's intellectual independence throughout is admirable. One must, however, tolerate a great deal of repetition, especially in the first few chapters, a quite unnecessary tone of apology, some involved reasoning and unsubstantiated conclusions. Occasionally, an appeal for human goodness is made too much on moral grounds to be impressive. If a second edition of the book were called for I think that a certain amount of deletion would be an improvement.

Alan Creighton.

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